

Roman Phrygia

The bleak steppe and rolling highlands of inner Anatolia were one of the most remote and underdeveloped parts of the Roman Empire. Still today, for most historians of the Roman world, ancient Phrygia largely remains terra incognita. Yet thanks to a startling abundance of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone, the cultural history of the villages and small towns of Roman Phrygia is known to us in vivid and unexpected detail. Few parts of the Mediterranean world offer so rich a body of evidence for rural society in the Roman Imperial and late antique periods, and for the flourishing of ancient Christianity within this landscape. The eleven essays in this book offer new perspectives on the remarkable culture, lifestyles, art and institutions of the Anatolian uplands in antiquity.

PETER THONEMANN is Forrest-Derow Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History, Wadham College, Oxford. He is the author of *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (2011), the winner of the Anglo-Hellenic League's prestigious Runciman Prize 2012, and co-author (with Simon Price) of *The Birth of Classical Europe: A History from Troy to Augustine* (2010). His most recent book is an edited collection of essays on *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations and the State* (2013).

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Roman Phrygia

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Edited by PETER THONEMANN



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Preface

Inner Anatolia is divided into two parts. To the east lies the steppe, the vast, monotonous upland plains of eastern Phrygia, Galatia, Lykaonia and Kapadokia. Through most of its history, this harsh country has been given over to large-scale semi-nomadic stock rearing; the central part of the plateau, along the shores of the great salt lake Tatta, was known in antiquity simply as the *Axylon*, the ‘treeless country’. To the west, between the steppe and the Aegean valleys, rise the rolling highlands of western Phrygia, Mysia and eastern Lydia, supporting a mixed economy of agriculture and animal husbandry. Urbanism never made much headway in either district; remote, underdeveloped, with hard winters and pitiless summers, inner Anatolia was always primarily a land of villages.

Yet the people of inner Anatolia are not quite a ‘people without history’. The inhabitants of the villages and small towns of Roman Phrygia are known to us thanks to an astonishing abundance of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone, mostly votive and funerary monuments, and almost all dating to the later Roman Imperial and late antique periods. Indeed, we are perhaps better informed about rural and small-town life in inner Anatolia than for any other part of the Roman world outside Egypt. Entire classes of ancient society, all but silent elsewhere, here speak with their own voice: shepherds with their flocks, bailiffs of the great Imperial estates and ranches, vine-growers and wool-merchants. The religious life of these Phrygian villagers is known to us in extraordinary detail. The church struck deep roots here at an early date; in the rich early Christian epigraphy of inner Anatolia, we can watch a single, unitary orthodox church gradually emerging out of a forest of local ecclesiastical communities between the third and fifth centuries AD. Few other parts of the Mediterranean world offer anything near so rich a body of documentary evidence for rural society in the Roman Imperial and late antique periods, and for the flourishing of ancient Christianity within this landscape.

In recent years, Phrygia has hardly been at the centre – one might say, has hardly even been on the periphery – of Roman and late antique studies. The study of the epigraphy, historical geography and social history of the region has scarcely progressed since the 1950s. With the notable exception

of Stephen Mitchell (see especially *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993), no scholar has seriously attempted to grapple with the related problems of Romanization and Christianization in the inner-Anatolian countryside. It is not hard to see why this should be so. The published inscriptions of the region are dispersed across hundreds of obscure journals and intractable corpora; very little archaeological work has been undertaken in the region, and the barren Phrygian Highlands lack an Ephesos or a Petra to attract visitors' interest. For most historians of the Roman world, Phrygia remains essentially *terra incognita*.

This book, which originates in a highly convivial one-day conference held at Wadham College (Oxford) in July 2011, aims to offer a historical conspectus of the remarkable cultural history of the Phrygian Highlands. Chapter 1 sets the scene with an overview of the geography and historical sociology of Phrygia, from the early Iron Age to the early Roman Imperial period. I suggest that persistent Phrygian 'underdevelopment' in the Hellenistic and Roman periods should be understood in neo-Darwinian terms, as a highly successful adaptation to the experience of Achaemenid, Macedonian and Roman imperialism: Phrygian social institutions evolved as they did specifically in order to keep the state at arm's length. Barbara Levick (Chapter 2) considers the stereotypical views of Phrygia and Phrygians found in Greek and Roman literature, and the ways in which these 'negative' stereotypes could be usurped and co-opted by Phrygians as an element of their own cultural identity. In Chapter 3, Claude Brixhe charts the development of Phrygian naming practices from the Iron Age to Late Antiquity: he shows that changes in Phrygian onomastics over time and space are closely linked to the wider historical trajectories of the region.

In Chapter 4, Ute Kelp is concerned with Phrygian 'culture' in the broadest sense; drawing on grave monuments and local mythologies of the Roman Imperial period, she offers a compelling account of changing local identities and communal self-definition. One of our chief sources for Phrygian social history is the rich figurative iconography with which Phrygians decorated their tombstones; this complex visual language of hair styles, clothing and tools is subjected to a ground-breaking analysis by Jane Masségliia (Chapter 5). In Chapter 6, I attempt to do something similar for the structure of the Phrygian household of the later Roman Imperial period, as represented in the funerary epigraphy of the Upper Tembris valley. Georgy Kantor (Chapter 7) provides a definitive survey of the impact of the Roman Imperial state on the institutions of the region (law, government and administration) through the Late Republican and early Imperial periods.

In Chapter 8, Stephen Mitchell takes us to Temenouthyrai (modern Uşak) in western Phrygia, and a remarkable group of early Christian tombstones, dated by Mitchell to the late second or very early third century AD. These monuments show us a wealthy and confident Christian community of the Severan era, thoroughly integrated with their non-Christian neighbours, and prepared to make ‘a strong and lasting investment in their secular environment’. Early Christian funerary monuments are also the theme of Édouard Chiricat’s contribution (Chapter 9); his chief interest is the so-called ‘crypto-Christian’ epitaphs of second- and third-century Phrygia. In Chapter 10, Philipp Niewöhner uses the evidence of fourth- to sixth-century secular and ecclesiastical stonemasonry, the work above all of the famous quarries at Dokimeion, to make a strong case for the persistence of Phrygian regional distinctiveness deep into Late Antiquity. Charlotte Roueché rounds off the volume (Chapter 11) with an account of the early history of British and American exploration in Phrygia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The conference out of which this book developed was held under the aegis of the research project *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI: Monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia* (2009–13), generously funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. The chief aim of this project was to make available some 387 inscriptions and other ancient monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia recorded by William Calder (1881–1960) and Michael Ballance (†27 July 2006) in the course of annual expeditions to inner Anatolia between 1954 and 1957. The corpus of monuments is already fully available online (<http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk>), and is due to be published shortly in book form (as a JRS Supplementary Volume, published by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies). My thanks go to the other members of the MAMA project, Édouard Chiricat, Charles Crowther, Maggy Sasanow, Henriette Roued-Cunliffe and Joe Talbot; to Wadham College, for hosting the conference out of which this volume developed; and to my editor at Cambridge University Press, Michael Sharp, for his enthusiasm and support.

Abbreviations

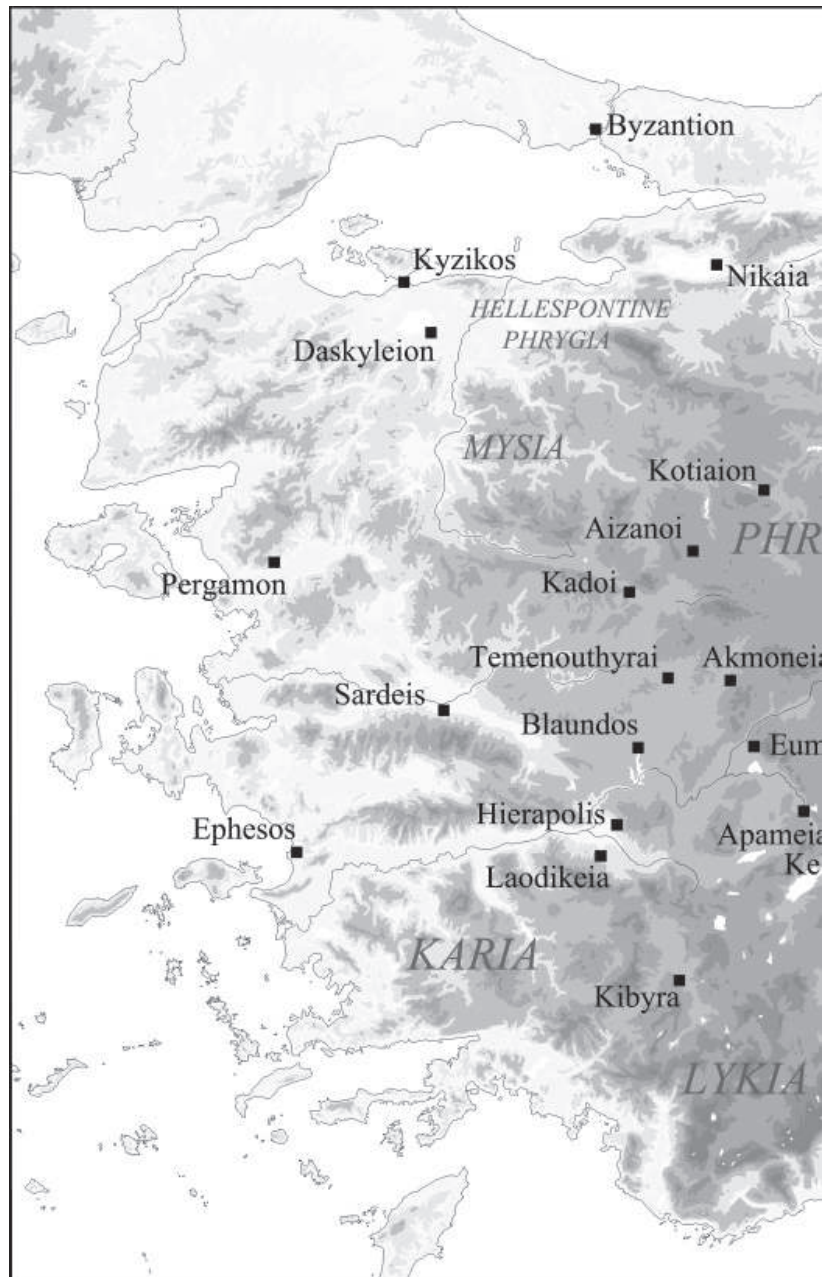
Abbreviations follow those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* for references to ancient literary sources and those of *Année philologique* for titles of journals, with the following additions and variations:

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique.</i>
<i>AvH</i>	C. Humann, C. Cichorius, W. Judeich and F. Winter, <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis</i> . Berlin, 1898.
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , annually in <i>REG</i> .
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin, 1895–.
<i>BMC Phrygia</i>	B. V. Head, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia</i> . London, 1906.
<i>BMCRE III</i>	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum III: Nerva to Hadrian</i> . London, 1936.
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
<i>Coll. Wadd.</i>	E. Babelon, <i>Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington</i> . Paris, 1898.
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i> .
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leiden: 1923–.
<i>FIRA</i>	S. Riccobono, G. Furlani, G. Arangio-Ruiz, C. Ferrini and G. Baviera, <i>Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani</i> . 3 vols. Second edition. Florence, 1940–43.
<i>I.Anazarbos</i>	M. H. Sayar, <i>Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung</i> . IGSK 56. Bonn, 2000.
<i>I.Antioche de Pisidie</i>	M. A. Byrne and G. Labarre, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie d'après les Note-books de W.M. Ramsay</i> . IGSK 67. Bonn, 2006.
<i>I.BurdurMus</i>	G. H. R. Horsley, <i>RECAM V: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum</i> . Ankara, 2007.

- I.Denizli* E. Miranda and F. Guizzi, *Museo Archaeologico di Denizli-Hierapolis. Catalogo delle iscrizioni greche e latine: Distretto di Denizli*. Naples, 2008.
- I.Didyma* A. Rehm, *Didyma II. Die Inschriften*. Berlin, 1958.
- I.Ephesos* H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. 7 vols. IGSK 11–17. Bonn, 1979–81.
- I.Ilion* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. IGSK 3. Bonn, 1975.
- I.Iznik* S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von İznik (Nikaia)*. 2 vols. in 4. IGSK 9–10. Bonn, 1979–87.
- I.Kios* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios*. IGSK 29. Bonn, 1985.
- I.Klaudiu Polis* F. Becker-Bertau, *Die Inschriften von Klaudiu Polis*. IGSK 31. Bonn, 1986.
- I.Laodikeia* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos. I*. IGSK 49. Bonn, 1997.
- I.Pergamon* M. Fränkel, E. Fabricius and K. Schuhhardt, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1890–5.
- I.Pessinous* J. Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous*. IGSK 66. Bonn, 2005.
- I.Pis.Cent.* G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia*. IGSK 57. Bonn, 2000.
- I.Priene* F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin, 1906.
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- I.Sultan Dağı* L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı. I*. IGSK 62. Bonn, 2002.
- IAph2007* J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007): <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- IGR* R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*. 3 vols. Paris, 1906–27.
- ILS* H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. in 5. Berlin, 1892–1916.
- ISE* *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*.
- LBW* P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure*. 2 vols. Paris, 1870.
- LGNP* *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. 8 vols. Zürich, Munich and Düsseldorf, 1981–99.
- MAMA I* W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I*. Manchester, 1928.

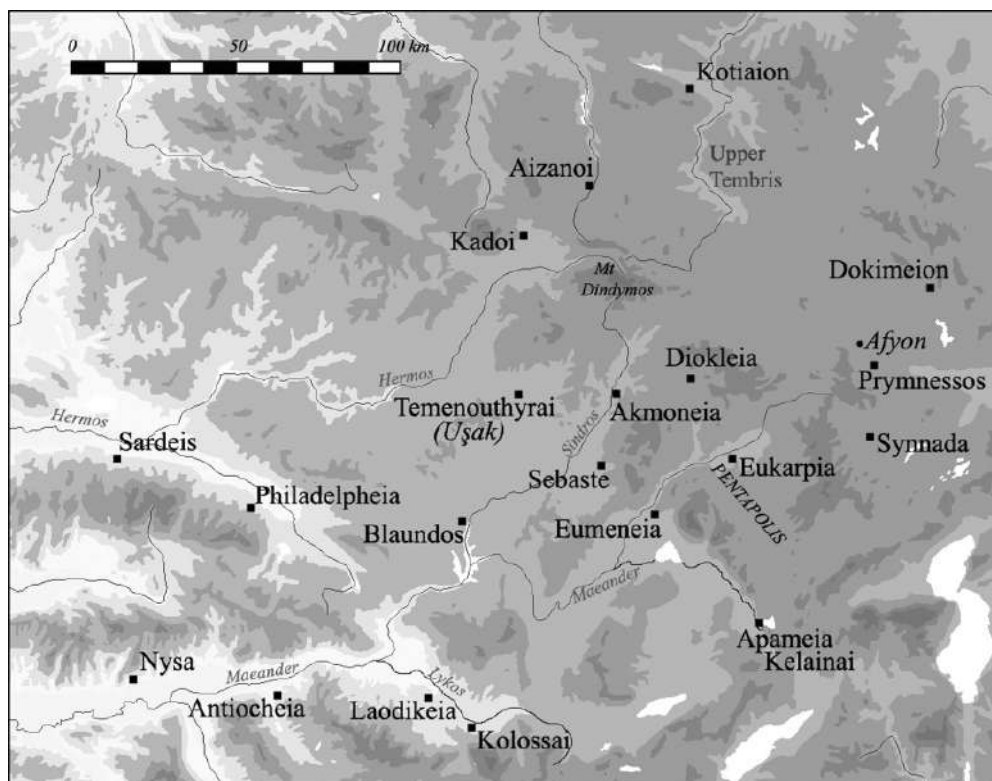
MAMA IV	W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia</i> . Manchester, 1933.
MAMA V	C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V: Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea</i> . Manchester, 1937.
MAMA VI	W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VI: Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria</i> . Manchester, 1939.
MAMA VII	W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VII: Eastern Phrygia</i> . Manchester, 1956.
MAMA VIII	W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias</i> . Manchester, 1962.
MAMA IX	B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX: Inscriptions from Aezani and the Aezanitis</i> . London, 1988.
MAMA X	B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua X: Monuments of Cotiaeum, the Upper Tembris Valley, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra Sidera and Tiberiopolis</i> . London, 1993.
MAMA XI	P. Thonemann, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI: Monuments from Phrygia and Lycaonia</i> . http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5. <i>P.Ross.Georg. Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen</i> .
PIR ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , 2nd edn. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–.
PMG	D. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford, 1962.
Ramsay, <i>Phrygia</i>	W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia</i> . Oxford, 1895–7. Vol. I. Part I: <i>The Lycus Valley and South-Western Phrygia</i> . Vol. I. Part II: <i>West and West-Central Phrygia</i> . Vol. II (on Northern Phrygia) never appeared; the two published volumes are referred to throughout as I and II.
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
RECAM II	S. Mitchell, <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 2: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia</i> . Oxford, 1982.

RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage.</i>
Robert, <i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> . 13 vols. Paris, 1940–65.
Robert, OMS	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> . 7 vols. Amsterdam, 1969–90.
RPC	A. Burnett and M. Amandry (eds.), <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> . London and Paris, 1992–. I. <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)</i> . II. <i>From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)</i> . VII. <i>De Gordien Ier à Gordien III (238–244 après J.-C.)</i> 1. <i>Province d'Asie</i> .
<i>Sardis VII 1</i>	W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, <i>Sardis VII, Part 1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> . Leiden, 1932.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> .
Syll. ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24.
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> .
<i>TIB Galatien</i>	K. Belke, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4. Galatien und Lykaonien</i> . Vienna, 1984.
<i>TIB Phrygien</i>	K. Belke and N. Mersich, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7. Phrygien und Pisidien</i> . Vienna, 1990.
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> .



Map 1. Ancient Phrygia.





Map 2. Western and southern Phrygia.

1 | Phrygia: an anarchist history, 950 BC–AD 100

PETER THONEMANN

Introduction

In *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, the anthropologist James C. Scott has offered an audacious series of hypotheses about the historical sociology of a vast stretch of upland South East Asia.¹ This region – called by Scott ‘Zomia’ – is a huge inland massif of some 2.5 million square kilometres, stretching from eastern China to north-eastern India, and including the highland districts of five other modern nation-states (Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia). Today, the highlands of Zomia are inhabited by more than 100 million members of various minority peoples – the Kachin, the Wa, the Yao and others.

Scott makes three simple and provocative claims about this region. First, a geographical claim: that it is intrinsically more difficult for states to extend their power into mountainous inland regions than it is for them to control lowland and maritime zones. Changes in altitude, ruggedness of terrain, population dispersal and mixed cultivation all imposed direct and powerful geographical constraints on state building in the pre-modern world. Second, a historical claim: that this upland region has historically constituted a vast ‘shatter zone’, with a population made up of successive waves of refugees from the various lowland states that have surrounded it. Third, a sociological claim: that the existing societies of upland South East Asia have developed a set of social institutions specifically designed to prevent states developing in Zomia. As a result of their history as refugees from developing states, the peasants of Zomia have consciously fostered a radically egalitarian social structure, which both ‘thwarts incorporation by an outside state [and] also inhibits crystallization of any internal statelike structure’.² For example, the peoples of Zomia are (or have been until very recently) largely illiterate. In Scott’s account, this is not a state of pre-literacy, but *post-literacy*: many Zomian societies had possessed writing at some point in the past, but deliberately gave it up in order to avoid the kind of social stratification that develops as a result of the practice of writing.³

¹ Scott 2009. ² Scott 2009: 277. ³ Scott 2009: 220–37; cf. Lévi-Strauss 1973: 294–300.

Without doubt, all three hypotheses are open to empirical and theoretical criticism. The specific historical claim, that the inhabitants of this upland region are refugees from lowland states, is far from proven, and the geographical argument (that upland societies *necessarily* differ in character from lowland societies) runs dangerously close to geographical determinism.⁴ Several readers, too, have felt that Scott's interpretation of Zomian institutions, while romantically appealing, assumes exactly what needs to be proved on the crucial question of human agency. Even if we accept Scott's account of Zomian radical egalitarianism, there remains a 'world of difference between the recognition of the advantages of oral tradition and the giving up of script as a conscious collective choice'.⁵

Nonetheless, the usefulness of Scott's picture of 'anarchist' Zomia, I would suggest, lies not so much in its empirical accuracy, or even in its theoretical rigour, but in its analytic suggestiveness as an 'ideal type'. An ideal-typical model of a particular kind of society – in this case, a stateless, politically and economically fragmented upland society – may well not map all that closely onto observable reality. Indeed, as Weber puts it, 'The more sharply and clearly constructed the ideal types are – in other words, the more *unrealistic* they are in this sense – the better they perform their function, which is terminological and classificatory as well as heuristic'.⁶ A generation ago, historians of the ancient world were notoriously resistant to the use of simplifying sociological and economic models.⁷ This is no longer the case; over the last decade or so, several ancient historians and archaeologists, particularly in the United States, have made increasingly sophisticated attempts to model aspects of the ancient economy on modified neoclassical principles (the New Institutional Economics).⁸ However, this intellectual tradition, with its emphasis on state performance and individual and collective economic rationality, has proved most fertile in helping to analyse phases of rapid economic growth and increasing social complexity, such as the development of certain parts of the Roman Empire between 200 BC and AD 200.⁹ Its practitioners have shown less interest in those benighted parts of the ancient Mediterranean world which refused to develop a

⁴ Sadan 2010; Subrahmanyam 2010; Krasner 2011; Randeria 2011. On geographical determinism, see Harvey 2009: 202–13; Thonemann 2011a, esp. 17–19, 340–1.

⁵ Randeria 2011: 469. Cf. Subrahmanyam 2010 ('a strong whiff of functionalism hanging over the intellectual enterprise as a whole').

⁶ Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, ch. 1.I (transl. Runciman 1978: 23–5); cf. Finley 1985: 60–1.

⁷ Notable exceptions include, of course, Finley 1973 [1999]; Hopkins 1980 and 1995/6 [2002].

⁸ Morris 2004; Manning and Morris 2005; Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007; Bresson 2007–8. The character of New Institutionalism is well described by Fine and Milonakis 2009: 78–87, 94–9.

⁹ E.g. Hitchner 2005; Bowman and Wilson 2009.

market economy or whose states inexplicably failed to ‘perform’ with sufficient dynamism and rationality.¹⁰

The chief argument of this chapter is that Scott’s account of the historical development of upland South East Asia – or, one might say, its principled *refusal* to develop – serves as a helpful simplifying model for understanding the culture and society of Roman Phrygia. Judged on the criteria of economic performance over time, levels of *per capita* consumption, and the freedom of factor and commodity markets, upland inner Anatolia looks like a classic example of a ‘failed society’.¹¹ Between the tenth and sixth centuries BC, as we shall see, inner Anatolia was home to a Phrygian state which achieved quite respectable levels of urbanism, production beyond subsistence, craft specialization and social complexity. Between the sixth and fourth centuries, this Iron Age state ceased to exist, leaving a post-literate, post-urban, highly fragmented, cellular agro-pastoral society across much of central Anatolia. Graeco-Macedonian colonial settlement in Phrygia during the third and second centuries BC did little to change this pattern. Even during the Roman Imperial period, when – for cultural, not economic reasons – a paper-thin façade of civic institutions and urbanization was erected in parts of inner Anatolia, Phrygian society remained largely decentralized and ‘underdeveloped’. In the face of this historical trajectory, we are faced with a choice: either to wring our hands in despair at the millennial failure of these stupid Anatolian peasants to follow the most basic rules of economic rationality, or to try to formulate an alternative way of understanding their curious long-term patterns of behaviour.¹²

‘Technical progress, economic growth, productivity, even efficiency have not been significant goals since the beginning of time. So long as an acceptable lifestyle could be maintained, however that was defined, other values held the stage.’¹³ Scott’s model of an ‘anarchist’ society – one which

¹⁰ In the chapters on Classical Greece in Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007, the Greeks are repeatedly ticked off for their ‘failure’ to develop effective factor and commodity markets. ‘All three expedients [for procuring flexible labour in Classical Greece] had one crucial shortcoming . . . they could not provide a labour force which could be closely controlled or could be assembled at, or moved to, the loci of such production as was innovative in method or scale’ (Davies 2007: 354); ‘[T]he institutional context of democracy improved the conditions for market-oriented commodity consumption. But even in Athens . . . markets did not work without interference. The greatest problem was the variations in demand . . .’ (von Reden 2007: 405).

¹¹ For these criteria, see Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007: 1–12.

¹² Manning and Morris 2005: 4, asserting ‘a commitment to assuming the basic rationality of economic actors and systems’. For an excellent example of the ‘hand-wringing’ school of Anatolian peasant history, see Kaplan 1992 (‘une agriculture bloquée par l’autarcie’).

¹³ Finley 1973 [1999]: 147.

consciously *walks away* from the state and its attendant socio-economic differentiation – is by no means a perfect fit for Roman Phrygia. But it does at least encourage us to take seriously the notion that, in post-Iron Age inner Anatolia, we might not be dealing with a ‘failed’ society, but with one that has, consciously or unconsciously, chosen its own destiny.

The land of Phrygia: a sketch

Let us picture a traveller, not so many years ago, setting out from Constantinople for the high Anatolian plateau. Having taken ship to Nikomedeia (modern İzmit), she rides out east to the lower Sangarios (Sakarya) river, and thence upstream to Osmani (Byzantine Leukai), where she meets the road from Nikaia (modern İznik), six hours west of Leukai. From Leukai (102 metres above sea level), the road starts to climb sharply; the Sangarios swings away to the east, and our traveller continues on south up the Karasu gorge, past Vezirhan to Bilecik (520 metres). From Bilecik, a very steep road leads on up the defiles of the Karasu to Bozüyük (ancient Lamounia, 740 metres), while an easier route branches off south-east to Söğüt (650 metres).¹⁴ This zone marks a sharp ecological boundary: the olive does not grow south of Bilecik, and Söğüt is the last town where mulberry-cultivation and silk-production is possible. South of Söğüt, our traveller passes over the forested heights of the Boz Dağı, still covered with dwarf oak and fir, and descends into the great flat trough of Dorylaion (modern Eskişehir, 792 metres), her first taste of the grand Anatolian steppe. It is here, at the very rim of the plateau, that Phrygia begins.

The arid plain of Dorylaion, thinly watered by the Porsuk Çayı (the ancient river Tembris), is a different world from the fertile wooded valleys to the north and west. There are no trees, little shade, and for much of the last millennium the plain has been largely dedicated to stock rearing rather than agriculture.¹⁵ East and south-east of Dorylaion stretches the flat, bare landscape of the Upper Sangarios basin. The widely spaced towns of the Upper Sangarios – Amorion to the south, Nakoleia to the west, Pessinous and Germa to the east – controlled vast territories along the fringes of the central Anatolian steppe; an inscription dating to the 320s AD shows that

¹⁴ R. P. Lindner 2007: 35–56. On the ancient roads in this region, see also Magie 1950: II 800–2. For Vezirhan as a point of contact between Phrygian- and Greek-speakers in the fifth century BC, see further below, p. 16.

¹⁵ MAMA V xi–xxii; Foss 1996; R. P. Lindner 2007: 58–67; Thonemann 2011a: 162. Cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 41: *Dorylensis . . . qui arborem numquam vidisset.*

the small town of Orkistos, on an affluent of the Sangarios, formed part of the territory of Nakoleia, more than 50 km to the north-west.¹⁶ At the far east of this district, where the Sangarios makes its loop to the north, the mound of Yassihöyük marks the site of ancient Gordion, the capital of the Phrygian state of the early first millennium BC.¹⁷ The climate is severe throughout this region, with bitterly cold winters and pitiless summers: nowhere in upland Phrygia can the olive be cultivated without extreme difficulty, and the relative brevity of the growing season seems to have led the inhabitants of northern and eastern Phrygia to cultivate barley in preference to wheat, due to its faster growth and relative resistance to drought.¹⁸

Due south of Dorylaion rises the Türkmen Dağı mountain range, the ancient Mt Elataeis ('Fir-tree mountain', 1,826 metres).¹⁹ The ridge of the Türkmen Dağı separates the sombre plain of Dorylaion from a very different ecological zone: the so-called Phrygian Highlands, the region known in antiquity as the Arginousa ('Shining-White') after the extraordinary cones of white tufa that appear here and there in the pinewood uplands.²⁰ In the mid-first millennium BC, this remote, wooded district was home to a major Phrygian settlement (Midas City, at Yazılıkaya in the far east of the Highlands) and several important religious sites.²¹ However, Midas City was abandoned around the time of the Macedonian conquest of Asia, and no other significant urban centres seem to have developed in the region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; the highlands were instead largely carved up into private and Imperial estates, administered from the town of Nakoleia, just east of the Highland region.

Continuing on south from the Highlands into central Phrygia, our traveller is funnelled down into the basin of the Akar Çay (the ancient river Kaystros), dominated by the great fortress of Afyon Karahisar (ancient and

¹⁶ Amorion: Katsari 2006; Lightfoot and Lightfoot 2007. Nakoleia: *MAMA* V xxv–xxxii; Drew-Bear 1978: 32–52. Pessinous: Devreker, Thoen and Vermeulen 2003; Claerhout and Devreker 2008; annual reports in *Anatolia Antiqua*. Germa: von Aulock 1968. Orkistos: *MAMA* VII 305; see further below, p. 36.

¹⁷ See further below, pp. 9–10.

¹⁸ Robert, *OMS* VII 41–54 (olives and barley); on olives, see further Mitchell 2005b; Thonemann 2011a: 53–6. Archaeobotanical work at Gordion suggests that the cultivation ratio barley:wheat varied from 1:1 to 2:1 over the course of the first millennium BC: N. F. Miller 2010: 69, table 6.4; Marston 2012: 387–8.

¹⁹ Wrongly given as 'Elaphoeis' in the Barrington Atlas: for Elataeis, see Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.29 (578b), ed. Balme 2002; Plin. *HN* 8.225. The mountain was probably known as Suwara in the Hittite period: Forlanini 1996. For Roman-era villages on the north and west slopes of the Türkmen Dağı, Drew-Bear 1976: 251–2; Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1998–2001.

²⁰ Haspels 1971; Robert 1980: 266–99. ²¹ Berndt 2002; Berndt-Ersöz 2006.

mediaeval Akroinos).²² In the hills immediately to the north-east of Afyon, overlooking the valley of the Akar Çay, are the great marble quarries of Dokimeion, intensively exploited throughout the Roman Imperial period and beyond.²³ The plain of the Akar Çay is one of the great crossroads of central Anatolia; it was here that the battle of Ipsos was fought in the spring of 301 BC. From Afyon, one can continue on the main highway to the south-east, following the foothills of the Sultan Dağı mountains out along the southern fringe of the central Anatolian steppe. This is the region known as Phrygia Paroreios, with the small towns of Philomelion, Hadrianopolis, Toriaion and 'Burnt' Laodikeia perched on the edge of the treeless plateau.²⁴ Alternatively, one can turn south, to the ancient town of Synnada (modern Şuhut) in its circle of mountains, the administrative centre of eastern Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period.²⁵ Finally, the road from Afyon to the west leads down into the rich agricultural valleys of western Phrygia and the Lydian borderlands. The chief landmark of western Phrygia is the massive range of the Murat Dağ, the ancient Mt Dindymos (2,312 metres), whose fertile lower slopes are among the most favoured districts of inner Anatolia.²⁶ Many of the great perennial rivers of western Asia Minor rise on the flanks of Mt Dindymos: the Gediz Çay (the ancient river Hermos) rises on its western slopes, the Koca Çay (Rhyndakos) and Porsuk (Tembris) flow to the north, and the Banaz Çayı (Sindros), a major affluent of the Maeander, waters the plain to the south.

If we imagine our weary traveller looping anticlockwise around Mt Dindymos, she finds herself first in the valley of the Upper Tembris (Porsuk Çayı), north-east of the Murat Dağı, on the western edge of the Phrygian Highlands. There is little evidence for the history of the valley before the Roman Imperial period, when it was organized as a patchwork of senatorial and Imperial estates; just as in the Highlands, no real urban centres ever developed in this region. However, the prosperity of the village communities of the Upper Tembris in the Roman and Late Roman periods is vividly attested by the hundreds of richly decorated funerary and votive monuments surviving from the district.²⁷

²² Kaystros plain: Lochman 2003: 109–34. Akroinos: *TIB Phrygien* 177–8; Cheynet and Drew-Bear 2004. The neighbouring town of Prymnessos (Sülün) was more important in the Roman period: Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010.

²³ Robert 1980: 221–56; Waelkens 1982a; Drew-Bear 1994; Christol and Drew-Bear 2005; Niewöhner, Chapter 10 below.

²⁴ Waelkens 1986: 254–69; Mitchell 1993: I 143–58; Thonemann 2008: 43–53. On the ecology of this region, see Wenzel 1937.

²⁵ Robert, *OMS* VII 41–70, 109–21; G. M. Cohen 1995: 322–5; Drew-Bear and Sacco 2006–7.

²⁶ Robert, *OMS* VII 206–13.

²⁷ Strubbe 1975: 230–6; Levick and Mitchell in *MAMA* X, xv–xlv; Mitchell 1993: I 158–9; Lochman 2003: 54–108; Thonemann, Chapter 6 below.

The historical development of the Upper Tembris valley could not differ more starkly from that of the plain immediately to the west, the modern Örencik ovası (c. 1,000 metres), north-west of Mt Dindymos. Although the natural resources of the Örencik ovası are poorer than the Porsuk Çayı basin, the small Hellenistic settlement at Aizanoi (modern Çavdarhisar) nonetheless developed into one of the few major urban centres of Phrygia in the early Roman Imperial period.²⁸ South of Aizanoi, the western and south-western foothills of Mt Dindymos formed the cultural border with Lydia to the west. The chief modern city in this area is Uşak (ancient Temenouthyrai) which sits on the far western rim of the Anatolian plateau.²⁹

The first towns of Phrygia proper lie just to the east of Uşak, in the rich Banaz ovası, the ancient plain of Doias. The north-eastern corner of this plain was occupied by the small town of Alioi, perched on a lower spur of Mt Dindymos, on the watershed separating the Banaz river basin from the Upper Tembris valley to the north.³⁰ But the greater part of the Banaz ovası was controlled by the most important town of central Phrygia in antiquity, Akmoneia (modern Ahat), at the far south-east of the plain.³¹ Akmoneia controlled a crucial bottleneck on the main west–east road through central Phrygia, running from Sardeis up the Hermos valley to Uşak, and skirting the south side of Mt Dindymos on its way eastwards to Afyon and the plateau.

Turning south from Akmoneia, our traveller skirts the western flank of a massive chain of mountains (the Çatma Dağı and Ak Dağ ranges), 90 km in length, separating the well-watered valleys of south-western Phrygia – the wealthiest and most extensively urbanized part of the region in antiquity – from the higher, drier plains to the north and east.³² Under the western edge of this mountain range lie the prosperous modern towns of Sivaslı (ancient Sebaste, on the lower Banaz Çayı), Çivril (not far from ancient Eumeneia, in the Upper Maeander valley) and Dinar (Apameia, at the source of the Maeander). The apple gardens and strawberry plots of Çivril and Sivaslı make a stark contrast with the bare, treeless plains of the Pentapolis (the modern Sandıklı ovası) and south-Phrygian Metropolis (Tatarlı), on the eastern side of the Ak Dağ.³³

At last, with pleasure and relief, our traveller reaches the far south-western corner of the Phrygian culture zone. This region, watered by two great

²⁸ Levick and Mitchell in *MAMA IX*, xvii–xxix; Rheidt 2010; see further below, pp. 23, 25–6.

²⁹ Drew-Bear 1979; Waelkens 1986: 143–4; Mitchell, Chapter 8 below.

³⁰ Plain of Doias: Robert, *OMS VII*, 214–9. Alioi: Drew-Bear 1980a; Weiss 1993.

³¹ Thonemann 2010. ³² Thonemann 2011a: 130–77.

³³ Pentapolis: Thonemann 2012. Metropolis: Robert 1980: 262–5.

perennial rivers, the Maeander and the Lykos, has little in common with the arid, steppe-like landscape of central, eastern and northern Phrygia. The two chief cities of the Lykos basin in the Roman Imperial period, Laodikeia (near modern Denizli) and Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale), were large, wealthy textile-producing urban centres, closely connected to the Aegean lowlands via the middle and lower Maeander valley.³⁴ Ecologically, the lower Lykos valley forms a transitional zone of exactly the same kind as the area of Bilecik and Söğüt to the north; like Bilecik, Denizli marks the inland limit of modern olive cultivation in western Turkey.

Phrygia 950–330 BC: society against the state

As indicated in the introduction above, the most striking and puzzling event in the history of Phrygia is the process of ‘de-statification’ that took place between 550 and 330 BC. From the ninth to the mid-sixth century BC, upland inner Anatolia was home to a complex, sophisticated society, possessing many of the characteristics of a state or proto-state.³⁵ Large ceremonial centres, palatial complexes and monumental cult-structures are known in several different parts of Phrygian-speaking western and central Turkey (Gordion, Midas City, Daskyleion, Kerkenes); the use of writing, both in monumental contexts and elsewhere, was widespread; a high degree of craft specialization can be inferred, and we have abundant evidence for powerful hereditary rulers (including, in the late eighth century, a certain ‘Midas’ or *Mita*) and an emergent urban and administrative elite. However, by 330 BC at the very latest, this embryonic state had disappeared almost without trace. As we shall see, the people of Phrygia in the last three centuries BC formed a post-literate, post-urban, largely non-stratified society. Monumental building works were all but unknown in Hellenistic Phrygia. Writing was reintroduced only very gradually; it reappears in public contexts in the first century BC, and becomes really widespread in inner Anatolia only in the course of the second or even third century AD, later than almost anywhere else in the Roman world. The aim of this section is first to describe, and then to try to explain the first part of this curious historical trajectory: why did Phrygia apparently experience such dramatic retrograde social evolution in the mid-first millennium BC?

³⁴ D’Andria and Silvestrelli 2000; Thonemann 2011a: 178–202. Laodikeia: des Gagniers 1969; Traversari 2000; Şimşek 2007. Hierapolis: D’Andria 2001.

³⁵ Overviews of Iron Age Phrygia: Fiedler 2003; Roller 2011.

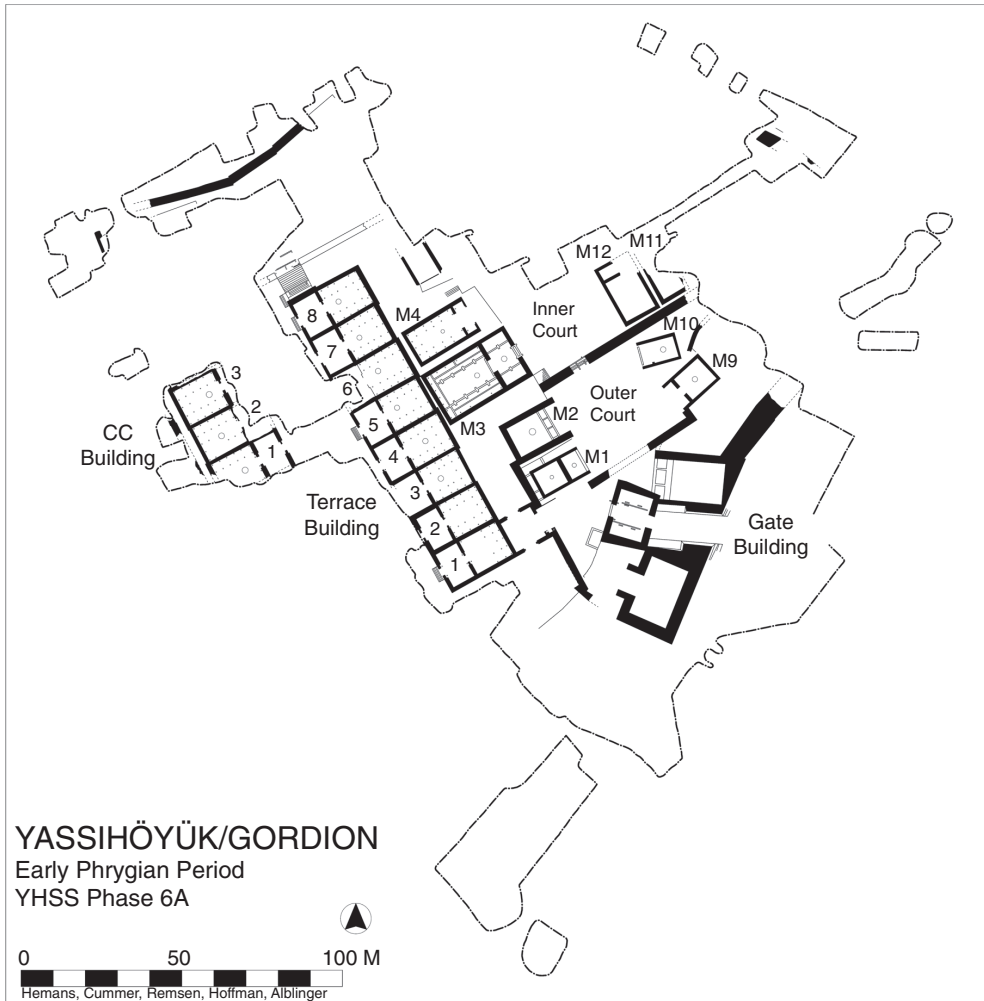


Figure 1.1. Gordion, site plan (Early Phrygian period). Courtesy of the Gordion Archive, University of Pennsylvania Museum.

The earliest archaeological evidence for the emergence of social complexity in Phrygia comes from the well-excavated site of Gordion in north-eastern Phrygia. Over the course of the tenth and ninth centuries BC, the Phrygian settlement at Gordion saw a series of massive building projects on the site's central Citadel Mound (Fig. 1.1).³⁶ The eastern side of the mound was given over to two spacious open courts, each of which was flanked by a number of enormous halls ('Megarons'), probably used both as reception

³⁶ Voigt and Henrickson 2000; Dusingberre 2005: 8–10.

chambers and cult rooms. The courts were accessed from the lower town by a massive ramped citadel gate. Immediately west of this large palace complex stood two long buildings (105 metres in length), facing one another across a broad street; each building was subdivided into eight smaller units, each consisting of a stepped entrance leading to a small anteroom, with a larger hall behind.³⁷ These sixteen units, housing some 300 workers in total, served as a single vast workshop-complex for food storage and preparation, and for large-scale production of textiles. The workshops were equipped with at least 125 looms – making this by far the largest attested weaving operation in the eastern Mediterranean – and food-preparation facilities (ovens, grain bins etc.) sufficient for feeding thousands of people.³⁸ The existence of this extraordinary mass-production unit, juxtaposed with the lavish palatial complex to the east, suggests that Early Phrygian Gordion (c. 950–800 BC) already enjoyed a sharply differentiated social structure, combined with a very high degree of centralization of production and distribution.

At the beginning of the Middle Phrygian period (c. 800–540 BC) – which saw Phrygian cultural influence reaching its greatest extent in central and western Anatolia – the monumental structures on the eastern part of the Citadel Mound were destroyed by an extensive fire. The palace complex and associated workshops were swiftly rebuilt in a form similar to their previous Early Phrygian incarnation; on the far side of a broad paved avenue, on the western peak of the Citadel Mound, a further group of lavish high-status residences now appears, suggesting the emergence of a new, secondary elite group at Gordion.³⁹ Similar palatial structures also begin to appear at other, widely-spaced Phrygian sites in Anatolia during this period. At Daskyleion, a Phrygian settlement on the south shore of the Propontis, a large palatial complex was built in the mid-eighth century BC.⁴⁰ The huge walled city at Kerkenes Dağ, in the far east of the Phrygian zone of influence, and apparently first occupied in the late seventh century BC, was dominated by another huge palace unit, accessed through a monumental entrance with fine sculptural decoration.⁴¹

Further indices of stratified political organization can be seen in the last years of the Middle Phrygian period. In the Phrygian Highlands between Eskişehir and Afyon, the first half of the sixth century BC saw the

³⁷ Only the east building has been completely excavated; the west building has at least four units, and probably mirrored its counterpart.

³⁸ Burke 2005; Burke 2010: 124–50. ³⁹ Voigt and Young 1999: 197–220; Voigt 2007.

⁴⁰ Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997.

⁴¹ Summers 2007; Draycott and Summers 2008; Kealhofer et al. 2010.

construction of a sequence of increasingly large and dramatic monumental rock-cut façades. The best known of these, the enormous Midas Monument at Midas City, in the far east of the Highland region, should probably be dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC; several other monumental façades of similar type are known from Midas City and its vicinity, from the Köhnuş valley north of Afyon, from Delikli Taş, north-west of Kütahya, and elsewhere.⁴² Some, but not all, of these Highland monuments are associated with substantial Middle Phrygian settlements; all of them provide vivid evidence for the dependent manpower and massive resources which members of the Phrygian elite were capable of mobilizing in the first half of the sixth century.

By contrast, the Late Phrygian period (c. 540–330 BC) saw a sudden scaling-back of this ‘monumental culture’ in inner Anatolia. Kerkenes was violently destroyed and abandoned in the mid-sixth century, probably at the time of the Persian conquest of central Anatolia.⁴³ The mid-sixth century may also have seen a break in occupation at Midas City: no fewer than four major monumental façades, two at Midas City (the ‘Unfinished Monument’ and the Areyastis Monument) and two near Emre Gölü (Arslankaya and Burmeç), were abruptly abandoned in a half-finished state at about this time. Although rock-cut monuments of this kind did continue to be produced in the Phrygian Highlands during the late sixth and fifth centuries BC, the handful of later façade monuments are on a far smaller scale than the early sixth-century monuments.⁴⁴

The two centuries of Achaimenid rule (c. 540–330 BC) also saw the sharply stratified society of Gordion give way to a far less differentiated form of social organization. No more monumental architectural projects were undertaken on the Citadel Mound after the mid-sixth century, and the construction of prestigious funerary tumuli came to an end. Much of the citadel was instead taken over by smaller independent workshops and humble industrial installations – a stark contrast to the palaces and centrally organized textile-factory of the Early and Middle Phrygian periods.⁴⁵ Regional survey work around Gordion suggests that a period of agricultural intensification during the Middle Phrygian period was followed in the Late Phrygian period by a rapid decline in rural population and settlement, which may well also

⁴² Midas monument: Haspels 1971: I 73–6; the discussion of the chronology in Roller 1999: 99–102 is superseded by Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 89–142.

⁴³ The date of the Persian conquest (probably in the late 540s) is unknown: Cargill 1977; Rollinger 2008.

⁴⁴ Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 98 (break in occupation at Midas City); 142 (unfinished façades).

⁴⁵ Voigt and Young 1999: 220–36; Dusinberre 2005: 10–14. Absence of tumuli: DeVries 2005: 53.

reflect this sudden ‘flattening’ of the social hierarchy at Gordion in the sixth and fifth centuries.⁴⁶ Archaeobotanical research suggests that the intensive agricultural production of the Middle Phrygian period was replaced by extensive herding and steppe grazing in the Late Phrygian and Hellenistic periods.⁴⁷

There is no reason to think that the urban population of Gordion was significantly smaller in the Late Phrygian period than it had been during its seventh- and early sixth-century heyday: indeed, increasing quantities of imported Greek finewares and transport amphorae show that the town was if anything better connected to the outside world in the fifth and fourth centuries than it had been during its heyday in the Middle Phrygian period. To all appearances, Late Phrygian Gordion did not undergo catastrophe or collapse, merely a process of socio-political simplification: the wealthy elite families of the Middle Phrygian period disappeared, the palace fell into disuse, and those aspects of daily life previously controlled by the state returned to the private sphere.

A similar pattern of Middle Phrygian complexity / Late Phrygian simplification can be observed in the historical development of the use of writing in Phrygia. The earliest of the 340-odd surviving Paleo-Phrygian texts on stone and pottery probably date to the late ninth or early eighth century BC, just as the Phrygians were becoming the dominant power in central Anatolia.⁴⁸ Most of the surviving texts on stone – including almost all the monumental inscriptions – were produced during the Middle Phrygian period (c. 800–540 BC); the surviving Phrygian texts of the Late Phrygian period (c. 540–330 BC) largely consist of short *graffiti* from Dorylaion and Gordion. Probably the last surviving Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions on stone are a funerary *stele* from Üyücek, north of Aizanoi, dating to the late fifth or early fourth century, and a long Phrygian–Greek bilingual inscription from Vezirhan near Bilecik in the Lower Sangarios valley, a *lex sacra* regulating behaviour in a rural sanctuary, apparently from the end of the fifth century BC.⁴⁹ By the last decades of Achaemenid rule in Asia Minor, Phrygian had effectively disappeared as a written language; only a single, highly anomalous Phrygian-language text postdates the Macedonian conquest of the 330s BC (discussed below). No other Phrygian-language documents of any kind

⁴⁶ Kealhofer 2005b. ⁴⁷ N. F. Miller 2010: 64–71; cf. Marston 2012: 395.

⁴⁸ Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, with Brixhe 2002b; Brixhe 2004a; Brixhe and Sivas 2009; Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2012.

⁴⁹ Üyücek: Brixhe 2004a: 32–42, B-04; Vezirhan: Brixhe 2004a: 42–67, B-05; Gorbachov 2008.

are known from the Hellenistic or early Roman Imperial periods, and the language does not re-emerge in written form until the second century AD.⁵⁰

At first sight, it might be tempting to regard the disappearance of Paleo-Phrygian as just another example of the large-scale ‘oralization’ of the non-Greek languages of western Asia Minor in the mid-first millennium BC. The various local epigraphic traditions of coastal and lowland Asia Minor (Karian, Lydian, Lykian, Sidetan) all fell into a precipitous decline in the immediate aftermath of the Macedonian conquest of the 330s BC, no doubt as a result of the increasing influence and prestige of Greek culture in the peninsula.⁵¹ But the analogy does not stand up to closer inspection. The Paleo-Phrygian script has a far longer history than any of the other Iron Age scripts of western Asia Minor (most of which first appear only in the sixth or fifth century BC), and written Phrygian, unlike the other local scripts, was already in terminal decline a century or more before the Macedonian conquest. Instead, the disappearance of Paleo-Phrygian in the fifth or early fourth century ought to be seen as yet another instance of this internal process of radical simplification in Late Phrygian society.

How, then, ought we to explain this sudden loss of socio-political complexity in Phrygia? The simplest explanation would be that the Phrygian proto-state simply collapsed in the face of the Persian invasion. The traces of Persian aggression are easy enough to find in the archaeological record: Kerkenes was destroyed and abandoned at the time of the Persian conquest, as was the Küçükhöyük fortress which protected the southern part of the lower town at Gordion.⁵² But this raises more questions than it answers. After all, the greater part of Asia Minor and the Near East, from Ionia to Babylonia, also experienced the devastating effects of Persian conquest, without the kind of socio-political levelling that seems to have occurred in Phrygia. Take the case of the neighbouring culture zone of Lydia. On its violent capture by the Persians, probably in the mid 540s BC, much of the Lydian capital of Sardeis was destroyed in a massive conflagration.⁵³ Yet within a few years, Sardeis had recovered fully, and Lydian cultural traditions

⁵⁰ A fragmentary Phrygian-language imprecation from the site of Prynnessos, in Greek script, has recently been published: Brixhe and Drew-Bear 2010. However, their dating to the second century BC on the basis of the script seems to me highly unlikely; the lettering is quite compatible with a date in the Roman Imperial period.

⁵¹ Briant 2006: 322–7. The last datable Karian text is a Greek–Karian bilingual of the 320s or 310s (Adiego 2008: 154–6), and the latest datable Lydian text dates to 324/3 BC (Boiy 2005). The latest Lykian inscriptions probably date around 300–250 BC. On the oral survival of these languages, see Mitchell 1993: I 172–3.

⁵² Küçükhöyük: Voigt and Young 1999: 211. ⁵³ Greenewalt 1992; Cahill 2010.

survived more or less unbroken through the two centuries of Achaemenid rule. The Lydian elite continued to prosper, and (in sharp contrast to the situation in Phrygia) tumulus construction in Lydia continued on a large scale throughout the Persian era, probably reaching a peak in the late sixth century.⁵⁴ On the south coast of Asia Minor, Lykian society seems, if anything, to have become considerably *more* stratified over the course of the Achaemenid period, with the emergence of powerful dynasts, a monumental culture of funerary display and increasing numbers of fortified urban settlements.⁵⁵ Only Phrygia saw its local elite class wither away altogether, taking the region's monumental culture with them.

An alternative approach – and one that I favour – would be to understand the ‘de-statification’ of Phrygia between the sixth and fourth centuries BC as a rational adaptation to the circumstances of Persian rule. The Persian ‘empire’ was, in essence, a mechanism for extracting tribute from vast stretches of dependent territory. In the near-total absence of Persian provincial infrastructure, the process of tribute collection was normally delegated to local actors. Regions where strong, centralized structures were already in place (petty kingdoms, as in Cyprus; complex tributary states, as in Babylonia and Egypt; city-states, as in Ionia) were thus particularly lucrative for the Persian state, since the Persians could use these pre-existing structures to cream off surpluses from tremendous numbers of primary producers.⁵⁶

The retreat from complexity which we see in late sixth- and fifth-century Phrygia could then be seen as an unusually effective mode of resistance – albeit passive resistance – to the Persian imperial state. By abandoning centralized social organization, the inhabitants of a region like Phrygia rendered themselves inaccessible to Achaemenid régimes of surplus extraction, since the Persians simply did not have the resources to tax tens of thousands of Phrygian peasants household by household. In the vast, open uplands of inner Anatolia, the Phrygians had the friction of distance on their side: the tiny surpluses produced by the villagers of the Upper Tembris valley or the treeless east-Phrygian steppe were simply not worth the bother for a satrap based at far-off Kelainai or Daskyleion.⁵⁷ Whatever the collective benefits may have been of the Early and Middle Phrygian social system, with its centralized production, large surpluses, and monumental culture, after the 540s BC they were simply outweighed by the practical advantages of state-evasion.

⁵⁴ Dusinberre 2003; Roosevelt 2009: 185–203. Tumuli: Roosevelt 2009: 135–51.

⁵⁵ Borchhardt 1998; Marksteiner 2002; Thonemann 2009.

⁵⁶ Briant 1982: 405–30; Briant 1994; Briant 2002: 388–421, esp. 410–15.

⁵⁷ Scott 1998: 11–52; Thonemann 2013: 17–20.

An explanation of this kind is of course wide open to accusations of functionalism. The historical development of Phrygia in the sixth and fifth centuries BC brought certain benefits for the Phrygians; but that need not be *why* Phrygia happened to develop in that particular way. Nonetheless, on any interpretation, it is clear that Hellenistic and Roman Phrygia can only be understood as a ‘post-state’ zone: a former centre which has (albeit under external compulsion) become a periphery; a society which has ended up, consciously or otherwise, turning its back on the state. It is, of course, quite impossible to map this trajectory onto any normative account of civilizational progress, let alone economic ‘rationality’. As Scott puts it, ‘Any effort to examine the history of social structure and subsistence routines as part of a deliberate political choice runs smack against a powerful civilizational narrative. That narrative consists of a historical series arranged as an account of economic, social, and cultural progress . . . The schema assumes movement in a single direction towards concentrated populations and intensive grain production; no backsliding is envisioned; each step is irreversible progress.’⁵⁸

The Phrygians’ choice (if such it was) of a different path had obvious practical disadvantages. Notoriously, the Phrygians, lacking any collective means of self-protection, became a particularly vulnerable part of the slave-raiding periphery of the developed states of the Mediterranean basin.⁵⁹ But, as we shall see, it brought advantages too: egalitarian social institutions, little internal stratification, effective local autonomy. To put it crudely, for a Phrygian villager in 400 BC, the risk of being carted off as a slave to the Athenian silver-mines was offset by the certainty of never having to pay tax to anyone. From this perspective, the coming of Persian rule to Phrygia in the mid-sixth century BC was not a curse, but a blessing. Despite their subjection to the Persian king, the Phrygians were, in real and tangible senses, ‘freer’ than the inhabitants of an autonomous Greek city-state, even if their liberty was, as one sociologist has put it, ‘unconstitutional and surreptitious.’⁶⁰

Phrygia 330–100 BC: acculturation and colonialism

The Phrygians had long had close trading contacts with the Greek-speaking populations of coastal Asia Minor. Phrygian bronzes and textiles had been

⁵⁸ Scott 2009: 187–8; cf. already Clastres 1974; Tainter 1988: 197–9.

⁵⁹ Classical Athens: Vlassopoulos 2010; Lewis 2011. Rome: Harris 1980: 127; Bussi 2001: 25–34.

⁶⁰ Mann 1986: 246.

making their way to the Aegean since the eighth century BC, and Greek ceramics become increasingly abundant in Phrygia during the Middle and Late Phrygian periods.⁶¹ The crucial zone of interaction between the two peoples lay in the lower valleys of the Rhyndakos and Sangarios rivers, in the far north-west of the chief Phrygian area of settlement. Greeks and Phrygians had been living alongside one another on the south coast of the Propontis since at least the seventh century, but the whole lower Sangarios basin was at least as important as a space of cultural exchange for the two groups.⁶² The bilingual Greek-Phrygian *lex sacra* from Vezirhan is especially suggestive, since it shows that in the late fifth century, Phrygian- and Greek-speakers in the Lower Sangarios valley were both worshipping at a single rural sanctuary.⁶³ The location is significant: Vezirhan lies at the northern end of the narrow Karasu defile, the main ancient route connecting northern Phrygia (the plain of Dorylaion-Eskişehir) with the coastal plains of Nikomedeia and Nikaia.⁶⁴ This must always have been the chief trading route connecting the Phrygians of the Upper Sangarios basin and the high Anatolian plateau with the Greek-speaking peoples of the Propontis, and hence it is no surprise that the Karasu valley served as a shared cultural and religious milieu for the two peoples.

That is not to say that the Phrygians of north-west Asia Minor had been ‘Hellenized’ to any meaningful extent by the late fourth century BC. An inscription from Zeleia on the south shore of the Propontis, dating to the immediate aftermath of the Macedonian conquest, explicitly distinguishes between the Greek population of the town and the rural population of Phrygians in the *chōra* of Zeleia. The Phrygians (*Phryges*) are cultivating a part of Zeleian public land (*dēmosia chōria*), and are thereby liable for the payment of *phoros* (apparently to the Achaemenid king).⁶⁵ The Zeleians do not seem to have any juridical authority over the Phrygians of their *chōra*, and there is no suggestion that the Phrygians were in any sense ‘serfs’ of the Greek inhabitants of Zeleia. It is striking that even in the Hellespontine region, where the two peoples had lived in close proximity for more than three centuries by this point, there was still such a clear ethnic, spatial and juridical separation between the urban Greeks and the rural Phrygians. In this respect, we should draw a sharp contrast between the Phrygians and the

⁶¹ Kerschner 2005: 114–29.

⁶² Kerschner 2005: 124–5. On the epigraphic evidence for Phrygian settlement in this region: Gusmani 2001: 162–3; see now also Brixhe and Keleş 2011 (fragmentary inscription from Parion; not certainly Paleo-Phrygian).

⁶³ Brixhe 2004a: 42–67, B-05. ⁶⁴ R. P. Lindner 2007: 44–5; see above, pp. 4–5.

⁶⁵ *Syll.*³ 279; Corsaro 1984; Schuler 1998: 201–4.

other non-Greek peoples of western Asia Minor. By the late fourth century, the Karians, Lydians and Lykians had all adopted various elements of Greek culture (including Greek names and the use of the Greek language for public documents).⁶⁶ The Phrygians had not.

Instead, the prime motor for the arrival and diffusion of Greek culture in Phrygia was large-scale Graeco-Macedonian colonial settlement, beginning in the immediate aftermath of the Macedonian conquest of the mid 330s, and continuing through the third and second centuries BC. The earliest colonial settlement known to us is Dokimeion, in south-central Phrygia on the fringe of the Anatolian plateau, founded as a Greek *polis* in the last years of the fourth century BC by a certain Dokimos, an officer first of Perdikkas, and subsequently in turn of Eumenes, Antigonos Monophthalmos, and Lysimachos.⁶⁷ The foundation of Dokimeion was followed in the third century BC by a string of new Seleukid *poleis* and military *katoikiai* in southern Phrygia and the Phrygo-Pisidian borderlands: Laodikeia Katakekaumene, Toriaion, Philomelion, perhaps south-Phrygian Metropolis, Apameia-Kelainai (reinforcing an existing Perso-Phrygian settlement), Lysias, Blaundos, Antiocheia by Pisidia, Apollonia by Pisidia, Laodikeia on the Lykos. Further colonial settlements were subsequently installed in south-west Phrygia (Dionysopolis, Eumeneia) and north-west Phrygia (Aizanoi) by the Attalids of Pergamon, and several Graeco-Macedonian settlements of uncertain origin are also known in central and northern Phrygia (Eukarpeia, Akmoneia, Amorion, Dorylaion).⁶⁸

A cluster of very early Hellenistic documents from the vicinity of Dokimeion sheds some light on the relations of the first Graeco-Macedonian settlers with the local Phrygian population. Perhaps the earliest of these is a rather carelessly inscribed Greek funerary *stele* from the modern village of Sülümenli, between Synnada and Dokimeion, commemorating a certain Philippos from Elimiotis in upper Macedonia, presumably a veteran of one of the Macedonian armies of the *diadochoi*.⁶⁹ Considerably more revealing than this is a funerary *stele* from the site of Synnada itself. This is the tombstone of a first-generation immigrant to Phrygia from Thessaly,

⁶⁶ Karia: Hornblower 1982; Debord 2003. Lydia: Hanfmann 1987; Roosevelt 2009: 155–71. Lykia: Kolb 2003; Schürr 2007.

⁶⁷ Robert 1980: 240–4; G. M. Cohen 1995: 295–9.

⁶⁸ G. M. Cohen 1995: 275–326; Thonemann 2011a: 170–7, with further references. For the Hellenistic *katoikia* at Amorion, see SEG 55, 1401 (unpublished letter of Attalos II from Pessinous).

⁶⁹ SEG 43, 937 (wrongly assigned to Dorylaion). Other members of the diadochic armies in Phrygia and Bithynia: MAMA X 220, with BE 1995, 479 (Kepez, Upper Tembris valley: Demetrios); *I.Kios* 98 (Menas the Bithynian, who died at the battle of Kyrupedion in 281 BC).

Demetria, daughter of Bacchios, a native of Thessalian Larisa; the lettering of the inscription appears to date to the early Hellenistic period.⁷⁰ However, the *stele* itself is clearly of Anatolian workmanship: stylistically, the *stele*-relief (depicting a seated woman with an attendant before her, holding a mirror) is very similar to a group of Achaemenid-era funerary *stelai* from Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia, most of which seem to date to the fifth century BC.⁷¹ To all appearances, an old Perso-Phrygian funerary *stele* was simply recycled by Demetria for use as her own tombstone. Although the local Phrygians themselves had long abandoned the custom of using funerary *stelai* with reliefs of this kind, the first Greek settlers in this region were quite happy to cannibalize old-fashioned Phrygian monuments for their own commemorative purposes.⁷²

Most interesting of all are a pair of funerary *stelai* of the late fourth or early third century BC discovered near Dokimeion. The first *stele* carries an eight-line inscription in the Phrygian language, but written – unlike the earlier Paleo-Phrygian documents – in the Greek script (Fig. 1.2).⁷³ Although the content of the text is largely obscure, it is clear that the *stele* was set up by a certain Kleumachos for Nikostratos. Alongside this monument was discovered a second *stele* of identical physical form, this time with the inscription in Greek: ‘Tatis, daughter of Nikostratos, wife of Theophilos’, presumably the daughter of the man commemorated by the first *stele*.⁷⁴

It is worth emphasizing quite how anomalous the *stele* of Nikostratos is. It comes almost a century after the last datable Paleo-Phrygian inscription on stone; in resurrecting the written form of this (by now wholly oral) language, Nikostratos and Kleumachos were reduced to using the Greek alphabet, since the Paleo-Phrygian script was gone for good.⁷⁵ The three men mentioned in the two inscriptions (Kleumachos, Nikostratos, Theophilos) all have good Greek names, although Nikostratos’ daughter Tatis carries what appears to be a local Phrygian ‘baby-name’.⁷⁶ I see no way of telling for certain whether we are dealing with a Phrygian elite family adopting Greek cultural practices (the practice of erecting inscribed funerary *stelai*,

⁷⁰ MAMA IV 49: Δημητρία Βακχίου Λαρισαία, γυνή ξέ Λ[-], apparently late fourth or early third century BC. Significantly, the published photograph suggests that the text was inscribed over an erasure.

⁷¹ M. Nollé 1992; Draycott 2007.

⁷² For the later reuse of Phrygian monuments, cf. the Roman recycling of the ‘Tomb of Solon’ at Kümbet: Haspels 1971: I 128–9.

⁷³ Brixhe 2004a: 7–26, W-11; Sowa 2008: 71. ⁷⁴ Drew-Bear 1985: 259–60.

⁷⁵ On transcription and language-decline, Adams 2003: 66–7, 230–5; Price and Naeh 2009: 265–6.

⁷⁶ Cf. Robert 1963: 337–51, on the female name *Matis* at Apameia-Kelainai in the third century BC, and the difficulty of classifying baby-names (‘Lallnamen’) of this kind (Tatis, Tatia, Ammia, Apphia).



Figure 1.2. Funerary *stele* of Nikostratos (c. 300 BC), with Phrygian inscription in the Greek script. Brixhe 2004a: 7–26, W-11.

Greek names, the Greek alphabet, the Greek language), with a Greek family adopting Phrygian cultural practices (the Phrygian language, a Phrygian ‘baby-name’), or with a culturally hybrid family formed by intermarriage between settlers and natives.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The name Kleumachos (with the Doric orthography Κλευ- not Κλεο-) is concentrated in two restricted zones, the Dodecanese (10 instances) and central Greece (Phokis, West Lokris, Thessaly: 7 instances): see *LGPNI* and *III.B*, s.v. But this does not prove that Kleumachos was a native Greek himself: his name could have been ‘copied’ from a Thessalian settler at Dokimeion or Synnada.

In any event, the Dokimeion *stelai* are a rare item of concrete evidence for the first stages of cultural interaction and exchange between Graeco-Macedonian settlers and native Phrygians in the early Hellenistic period. The site of Gordion, in north-eastern Phrygia, offers us a different perspective on the Hellenization of Phrygian culture in the late fourth and third centuries BC, since Gordion – so far as we know – was never subjected to Graeco-Macedonian colonial settlement. At Gordion, therefore, we must instead be dealing with the spontaneous adoption of Greek cultural artefacts by a Phrygian population.

Recent work at Gordion distinguishes three phases within the Hellenistic occupation period: early Hellenistic A (c. 333–275 BC), early Hellenistic B (c. 275–235 BC); and middle Hellenistic (c. 235–189 BC).⁷⁸ The three phases are primarily distinguished by the quantity and quality of imported goods from the Aegean Greek world. During the early decades of the Hellenistic period (c. 333–275 BC), Greek fine-wares and transport amphorae continued to appear at Gordion in large quantities. The troubled years of the mid-third century (c. 275–235 BC) saw Greek ceramic imports cease altogether, probably as a result of disruption to the land-routes across the peninsula in the wake of the Galatian invasion of Anatolia in the early 270s. Imported wares only reappear (in rather smaller quantities) in the Middle Hellenistic period (c. 235–189 BC); the urban centre of Gordion was abandoned altogether in (probably) 189 BC, and seems to have remained deserted until the late first century BC.

Hellenistic Gordion shows little sign of internal social stratification or craft specialization. In all three phases, habitations on the site were simple mud-brick structures with thatched roofs, constructed on rubble or re-used ashlar foundations. Monumental architecture is effectively absent: two large Hellenistic tumulus burials with stone burial chambers, Tumulus O and Tumulus JL, were probably the work not of the local Phrygian population, but of immigrant Galatian nobles.⁷⁹ Most local ceramics derive from occasional household production, and only in the Middle Hellenistic period do we see – probably for the first time at Gordion since the sixth century BC – the emergence of two specialized pottery workshops.⁸⁰ Instead, much of the ‘urban’ population seems to have been directly involved in

⁷⁸ Stewart 2010, significantly modifying Winter 1988 and DeVries 1990: 400–5.

⁷⁹ Young 1956: 250–2; Stewart 2010: 96–9. Middle Hellenistic burial practices at Gordion suggest the existence of a Galatian population at or near the town: Darbyshire, Mitchell and Vardar 2000: 84–5; Selinsky 2005.

⁸⁰ Stewart 2010: 38 (Middle Phrygian pottery workshops), 51 (cottage industry in Late Phrygian period), 113–15 (Middle Hellenistic workshops).

agricultural or pastoral activity. The work of the Gordion Regional Survey suggests that rural settlement in the region of Gordion was extensive but thinly distributed during the Hellenistic period: Hellenistic ceramics were widely distributed in small quantities across the entire area of the survey, suggesting a plethora of very small rural settlements or landholdings. As we have seen, this probably reflects a shift from intensive agriculture to extensive pastoral grazing in the Late Phrygian period, a trend which continued during the Hellenistic era.⁸¹

Nonetheless, this simple community rapidly adopted a broad repertoire of Greek cultural artefacts. The decades after the Macedonian conquest offer abundant evidence for ‘Hellenophile’ lifestyle choices: one early Hellenistic house boasted a Greek-style ceramic bathtub, and a distinctively Greek type of cooking vessel, the casserole, first appears at Gordion in the last decades of the fourth century BC.⁸² Some sixty-odd short Greek-language inscriptions and *graffiti* are known from the 150 years after the Macedonian conquest; as one would expect, Paleo-Phrygian has completely disappeared.⁸³ The inhabitants of Hellenistic Gordion seem to have been quick to adopt Greek onomastic practices: ordinary Greek personal names predominate (Demophanes, Menekrates, Satyros), and only a small handful of local Phrygian ‘baby-names’ still appear (Manes, Attas, perhaps Papas). Particularly noteworthy is the presence of the Homeric name Antenor, hitherto very rare in the Hellenophone world, and the names Achilleus and Hektor inscribed on a pair of knucklebones, perhaps suggesting a community making a self-conscious attempt to adopt the trappings of Greek culture.⁸⁴

Perhaps the most striking evidence for the cultural transformation of the Phrygian population of inland Asia Minor in the late fourth and early third centuries is a decree of two village-communities in the lower Lykos valley, in the far south-west of Phrygia, dating to January 267 BC.⁸⁵

In the reign of Antiochos and Seleukos, in the 45th year (of the Seleukid era), in the month Peritios, when Helenos was overseer of the district. It was resolved by the Neoteicheitai and the Kiddiokōmitai, in full assembly: since Banabelos, manager of the estates of Achaios, and Lachares son of Papos, financial administrator of the estates of Achaios, have shown themselves to be their benefactors in all things, and have given assistance both publicly and privately to each individual during the

⁸¹ Kealhofer 2005b: 144, 148; N. F. Miller 2010: 64–71.

⁸² DeVries 1990: 401; Stewart 2010: 80–1, 169–70.

⁸³ Roller 1987 (*SEG* 37, 1104–63; *BE* 1990, 770); DeVries 1990: 404–5 (with the critical remarks of *BE* 1992, 510).

⁸⁴ Compare the popularity of Homeric personal names in Roman Lykaonia: Robert, *OMS* VII, 588, n. 71; Ma 2007: 103–7 (Priamos, Nestor, Orestes, Telephos).

⁸⁵ Wörrle 1975; *I.Laodikeia* 1.

Galatian war, and when many of them were taken hostage by the Galatians, they reported this to Achaïos, and ransomed them; (it was resolved to) praise them and write up their benefaction on a stone *stele* and place it in the sanctuary of Zeus in Babakômê and in the sanctuary of Apollo in Kiddiokômê; to grant a seat of honour at the public festivals to them and their descendants in perpetuity, and also to sacrifice an ox every year in the temple of Zeus to Achaïos, master of the district and saviour, and two rams to our benefactors Lachares and Banabelos, and also three sheep in the sanctuary of Apollo in Kiddiokômê, so that others too may know that the Neonteichitai and the Kiddiokômitai know how to repay honours to those from whom they have benefited.

The lower Lykos valley evidently formed part of the private estate of a Seleukid dignitary by the name of Achaïos.⁸⁶ The decree honours the absent Achaïos and his two local estate-managers, Banabelos and Lachares, for their assistance during a period of regional instability following the arrival of the Galatians in Asia Minor in the 270s. Assuming that the inhabitants of Neonteichos, Babakômê and Kiddiokômê were Phrygians – as seems highly likely – the degree of institutional and cultural transformation in this particular part of the south-Phrygian countryside is startling. The corporate identity projected by the villagers of Neonteichos and Kiddiokômê includes an assembly (*ekklësia*), a procedure for honouring benefactors, public festivals (*dēmoteleis heortai*) and cults which could at least be represented as Greek ('Zeus' at Babakômê and 'Apollo' at Kiddiokômê) – not to mention, most strikingly of all, the desire and wherewithal to set up a long honorific inscription in perfectly fluent *koine* Greek.

The process of acculturation in the lower Lykos valley seems to have been unusually deep and rapid, and the foundation of the new Seleukid colony of Laodikeia on the Lykos, probably in the early 250s BC, can only have speeded the cultural transformation of this part of Phrygia. A late Hellenistic inscription from Laodikeia (apparently a list of female citizens) provides us with some seventy-four Laodikeian male and female personal names. Only three names (Menias, Adrastos, Abas) can plausibly be regarded as local; aside from one Thrakian name (Kotys), the remainder are all good Graeco-Macedonian names.⁸⁷ By the Roman Imperial period, the lower Lykos valley was culturally indistinguishable from the Hellenized regions of lowland western Asia Minor.

Things were different in northern Phrygia. The social organization of the people of the Phrygian Highlands in the Hellenistic period is particularly obscure; Midas City was abandoned suddenly in the late fourth century BC,

⁸⁶ Capdetrey 2007: 149–56.

⁸⁷ SEG 56, 1510. For other Hellenistic inscriptions from Laodikeia, see *I Laodikeia* 2–8, 99; *I.Denizli* 3–6.

perhaps around the time of the Macedonian conquest, and the last three centuries BC are represented in the archaeological record only by a tiny handful of monumental tombs.⁸⁸ The only site in northern Phrygia where we get any real sense of Hellenistic social developments is the site of Aizanoi, in far north-western Phrygia. A major local shrine of Zeus had existed here since at least the Late Phrygian period, and probably earlier, although nothing is known of the Phrygian community associated with the temple. At some point in the late third or early second century BC, Attalos I of Pergamon and Prousius I of Bithynia granted extensive new estates to the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, and this new temple-land was then divided up into *klēroi* (land-allotments) for military settlers of Macedonian origin, perhaps in order to control the border country between the Attalid and Bithynian kingdoms.⁸⁹ The earliest private inscription from Aizanoi is a funerary *stele* set up by Polemaios son of Perdikkas to his brother Lysias son of Perdikkas, apparently dating to the second or first century BC; the names strongly suggest that we are dealing with two of these new Macedonian settlers at Aizanoi.⁹⁰

Very little is known of the organization of this settler community at Aizanoi. Unlike the majority of the Hellenistic foundations in southern Phrygia (Laodikeia, Dokimeion, Eumeneia and others), they certainly were not organized as a *polis*. We can perhaps get some sense of the relation between Graeco-Macedonian settlers and Phrygian natives from the scanty archaeological remains of Hellenistic Aizanoi. A single luxurious private house of the first half of the second century BC has been excavated near the later Roman temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, with imitation-marble plastering, fine pottery imported from Pergamon and forty-six Greek-style sealings. The house may have been organized around a peristyle. The owner was clearly a Greek, possibly even a native of Pergamon, and is very likely to have been one of the original Graeco-Macedonian settlers at Aizanoi.⁹¹ In stark contrast to this, the only other Hellenistic houses to survive at Aizanoi, on the far (east) side of the Penkalas river from the temple mound, are very small, simple, poorly built dwellings.⁹² It is tempting to suppose that we are dealing with the two different population groups at Hellenistic Aizanoi, the dominant Graeco-Macedonian *klērouchoi* and the native Phrygians of the pre-colonial settlement.

⁸⁸ Midas City: Haspels 1951: 1–8; Haspels 1971: I 140–1, 153; Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 90. Tombs: Haspels 1971: I 153–62; on Gerdek Kaya, see also Berndt 2002: 65–6.

⁸⁹ Levick and Mitchell in *MAMA* IX, xl–xlii; Rheidt 2008: 109; Wörrle 2009: 429–32.

⁹⁰ Wörrle 1995: 75–6; *SEG* 45, 1721.

⁹¹ Rheidt 2001: 260–6; Rheidt 2008: 113–7; Rheidt 2010: 33–5, 38–43. ⁹² Rheidt 2008: 111.

A similarly sharp status-distinction between settler groups and locals can also be inferred in other parts of central and northern Phrygia. A small, heavily fortified Hellenistic settlement with several large and well-built houses has been excavated on the mound of Seyitömer, 26km north of Kütahya-Kotiaion; the site has not yet been fully published, but it seems very likely that we are dealing with another small Graeco-Macedonian military *katoikia*.⁹³ In the Roman Imperial period, two members of the local elite at Eukarpia, in the plain of Sandıklı in central Phrygia (the ancient Pentapolis), chose to describe themselves as *klērouchoi* and *triakontarchai*.⁹⁴ Both terms look very much like relics from a Hellenistic military settlement at Eukarpia, serving to distinguish a group of Graeco-Macedonian colonial settlers from the native Phrygians of the plain of Sandıklı. Although both titles – in particular the *triakontarchēs*, perhaps originally an officer with authority over thirty *klērouchoi* – had surely lost most of their substantive content by the second or third century AD, they nonetheless survived at Eukarpia as means of distinguishing the uppermost stratum of the local land-owning elite. Similarly, at Akmonēia, in an honorific inscription of the early Roman Imperial period, a certain Menophilos son of Apollonios chose to have himself described as ‘Macedonian’: the social status which membership of the dominant Macedonian ethno-class had brought with it in the third and second centuries BC was evidently still present at Akmonēia, even after a century or more of Roman rule.⁹⁵

Phrygia 100 BC–AD 1: the emergence of civic life

The early first century BC marks something of a turning point in the history of Phrygia. As we have seen, the two centuries after the Macedonian conquest had seen a slow and uneven process of acculturation across much of upland inner Anatolia, varying greatly from region to region, and apparently in some cases retarded, rather than accelerated, by the Graeco-Macedonian colonial presence. Between c. 100 and 50 BC, this changed very rapidly. In the course of a generation or so, dozens of different communities across Phrygia, ranging from large nucleated urban settlements

⁹³ Preliminary reports at www.freewebs.com/seyitomer/index.html. For the existence of a Phrygian population-group at the site in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, see Bilgen, Brixhe and Coşkun 2012.

⁹⁴ Calder 1956, nos. 1–2 (*BE* 1958, 467; *SEG* 15, 810 and 812); no. 1 (*SEG* 15, 810) will be republished as *MAMA* XI 45.

⁹⁵ *MAMA* VI 259, with Thonemann 2010: 172, n. 29. ‘Dominant ethno-class’: Briant 1982: 227–79.

with a predominantly Greek or Graeco-Macedonian population (Apameia, Laodikeia, Eumeneia) to small semi-rural communities, presumably with a mixed Greek and Phrygian population (Leonnaia, Prymnessos, the Mysoi Abbaeitai), all began to represent their communal identity in radically new ways.

Let us begin at Aizanoi. As already indicated, in the late second and early first centuries BC, Aizanoi seems not to have possessed autonomous civic institutions or a separate *polis*-identity. Instead, the settlement formed part of a larger regional association spanning much of northern Phrygia, the ‘Epiktēteis’ (i.e. the inhabitants of the region known as Phrygia Epiktētos), also including the small towns of Kadoi, south-west of Aizanoi, and Kotiaion, Nakoleia, Dorylaion and Midaion to the north-east. Nothing is known of the institutional character of this association. Its name – literally, the ‘newly-added’ places – seems to derive from the fact that this region had been ‘newly added’ to the Attalid kingdom by Attalos I in the 220s.⁹⁶ At any rate, the name Epiktēteis strongly implies that the association was of Attalid origin; perhaps we should imagine it as a loose federation of communities of Attalid military settlers across northern Phrygia. A small bronze coinage was minted in the name of the Epiktēteis, probably during the early first century BC; a man with the ethnic *Epiktēteus* (and a Greek name, ending -okles) appears in a late second- or early first-century BC list of foreigners on Rhodes, and shortly after 74/3 BC the Epiktēteis collaborated with the Mysoi Abbaeitai in honouring a Roman legate, C. Salluvius Naso, who had protected them during the war with Mithridates.⁹⁷

By the mid-first century BC, the settlers at Aizanoi had decided to adopt a new form of collective identity. In 49/8 BC, the Graeco-Macedonian settlers at Aizanoi set up an honorific inscription for a certain Menogenes son of Meniskos, recently deceased at the age of 70 (Fig. 1.3).⁹⁸

	ἔτους ζλ'.	Year 37.
	ἔδοξεν τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις	Decision of the <i>bouleutai</i> listed
	βουλευταῖς· ἐπειδὴ Μηνογένης Με-	below: since Menogenes son of
	νίσκου τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρ[ώ]-	Meniskos, a citizen, has passed the
5	της ἡλικίας εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐπείει-	entire span of his life, right from his
	κῶς τὸν ἅπαντα τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον[ν]	earliest youth, in an orderly and fitting
	βεβιωκῶς καὶ διεννηοχ ν. ὥς τ[ῶν]	manner, and surpassing all others in

⁹⁶ Strabo 12.8.2; Habicht 1956.

⁹⁷ Coins: *BMC Phrygia*, xxiv; Magie 1950: II 759, 999–1000; *RPC* I, p. 498. Honours for Salluvius (from Nemi in Italy): *OGIS* 445 (Μυσοὶ Ἀββαίεται καὶ Ἐπικτητεῖς). Rhodian list of foreigners: C. P. Jones 1992 (*SEG* 42, 746: [- -]οκλῆς Ἐπικτητεύς). See Wörrle 2009: 436–8.

⁹⁸ Günther 1975; for the date, see Wörrle 1995: 74; cf. also Rheidt 2010: 174.

	ἄλλων ἐν πίστει χρήσι ν. μ ν. ο[ν]	trustworthiness he made himself
	ἑαυτὸν παρέσχετο τοῖς πολλο[ῖς]	useful to the collective, and in the
10	ἐν τε ταῖς πιστευθείσαις ἀρχαῖς	offices entrusted to him by the <i>dēmos</i>
	ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθαρ<ε>ίως καὶ φι-	he showed himself to be enviable in
	λοδόξως ἀξιοζήλως ἐφαί-	his honesty and love of glory;
	[ν]ετο, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα	and since he has now died at
	[γ]εγονώς ἔτεσιν μετήλλαξεν, κ[α]-	seventy years of age, it is fitting
15	[λ]ῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν στεφανωθῆναι	that he should be crowned with
	[αὐ]τὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ τοῦ σ[ώ]-	a golden crown and that, once his
	[μα]τος ἐνεχθέντος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν	body has been brought into the <i>agora</i> ,
	[αὐτὸν] ταινιωθῆναι καὶ προπεμπθῆ-	his head should be bound with a fillet
	[ναι ὕ]πὸ τε τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ νέων καὶ	and he should be escorted by the
20	[τῶν] ἄλλων μέχρι τοῦ μνήματος.	<i>ephēboi</i> and the <i>neoi</i> and the others to
	[Μ]ηνογένῃ Μενίσκου χαῖρε.	the tomb. Menogenes son of Meniskos,
		farewell.

The inscription projects the identity of a Greek-style *polis* with a full and flourishing civic organization, including a *boulē*, civic magistrates (*archai*) and traditional Hellenistic age-classes (*neoi* and *ephēboi*). The posthumous honours for Menogenes are closely modelled on those conferred by the old Greek cities of western Asia Minor on their benefactors at this period; from this inscription alone, one would never have guessed that Aizanoi had only begun behaving as a *polis* within Menogenes' lifetime, and quite probably only during the latter years of his life.⁹⁹

The decree for Menogenes is the earliest surviving civic document from northern Phrygia, and one of the earliest public documents in Greek from any part of the region. However, although we have no such explicit evidence for the other constituent parts of the regional association of Epiktēteis – Kadoi, south-west of Aizanoi, and Kotiaion, Nakoleia, Dorylaion and Midaion to the north-east – there is some reason to think that they may also have begun behaving as *poleis* at around the same time.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, it is at precisely this period that evidence for civic institutions begins to appear not just in northern Phrygia, but throughout upland inner Anatolia. The earliest extant civic decree of Synnada – posthumous cult honours for a man with a good Graeco-Macedonian name, Philonides, son of Herodoros,

⁹⁹ The closest parallel (not noted by Günther) is Cic. *Flacc.* 75, a decree of Smyrna for a deceased Roman businessman, Castricius: *primum ut in oppidum introferretur . . . deinde ut ferrent ephēbi, postremo ut imponeretur aurea corona mortuo*. The date at which Aizanoi adopted or was granted *polis*-status is unclear: see Wörrle 2009: 430–1, n. 92.

¹⁰⁰ Dorylaion appears to have been an independent community by the late 60s BC (Cic. *Flacc.* 39–41), Midaion by 51 (Cic. *Fam.* 3.8.3). For the earliest extant civic document of Dorylaion, see below, n. 119.



Figure 1.3. Posthumous honorific *stèle* for Menogenes (49/8 BC) from Aizanoi. Günther 1975.

son of Limnaios – probably dates to the early first century BC, as does the earliest epigraphical evidence for the *polis* of Dokimeion.¹⁰¹ A long decree honouring the *paidonomos* and gymnasiarch Chares, dating to 67/6 BC, is our earliest inscription from the small Phrygian town of Themisionion.¹⁰² The first inscriptions from Apollonia by Pisidia date to the late second and early first century BC, including posthumous cult honours for a member of

¹⁰¹ Synnada: Wilhelm 1911: 54–61 (cf. *SEG* 54, 1879, for the suggestion, implausible in my view, that this document may date to the second century AD). Dokimeion: Robert 1980: 242–3 (*I.Smyrna* 750).

¹⁰² Wilhelm 1916: 45–8; Gauthier 2000: 55.

the local elite, inscribed on the façade of a small *naos*.¹⁰³ The earliest Greek inscription from the plain of Uşak, in western Phrygia, is a civic decree of the mid-first century BC honouring a Macedonian dynast, Antipatros of Derbe.¹⁰⁴

The first half of the first century BC also saw a sudden leap in the numbers of communities in Phrygia minting bronze coins in their own name. No coinages of any kind were produced in Phrygia before the second century BC. From the mid-second century BC onwards, Attalid (and subsequently provincial) cistophoric tetradrachms were struck at Apameia and Laodikeia, and perhaps at a few other small cities of central Phrygia; *cistophoroi* were also minted at Synnada at some point in the first century BC.¹⁰⁵ A tiny issue of bronze coinage at Apameia, probably dating to the mid-second century BC, appears to be the only token coinage produced in Phrygia under Attalid rule.¹⁰⁶ However, by the middle of the first century BC, around twenty Phrygian communities were producing more or less regular issues of bronze and brass coinage; with the exception of Apameia, none of these towns had struck coins at any earlier date.¹⁰⁷ Few of these issues can be dated with certainty, but the main series of Apameian bronze and brass coinage – by far the largest of the first-century Phrygian coinages, minted in the name of some fifty different local magistrates – seems to have been introduced in or around 89/88 BC, and it is unlikely that any other Phrygian coin-series much preceded it.¹⁰⁸

Quite apart from its economic consequences, the ‘small-change’ monetization of Phrygia in the mid-first century BC must reflect a major transformation in social identities in the region. Indeed, the decision of so many communities in Phrygia to begin memorializing certain civic processes in the form of Greek inscriptions on stone, and to begin projecting collective identity in the form of small bronze coins bearing their name, is a regional

¹⁰³ MAMA IV 136, 141, 158–9. Posthumous cult honours: MAMA XI 1.

¹⁰⁴ Keil and Premerstein 1911: 135–6, no. 248; Robert 1980: 243–4.

¹⁰⁵ Apameian and Laodikeian *cistophoroi*: Kleiner and Noe 1977: 86–99; Kleiner 1979; Le Rider and Drew-Bear 1991: 361–5; Ashton and Kinns 2004: 102–7. *Cistophoroi* of (perhaps) Blaundos, Dionysopolis, Lysias and Dioskome: Le Rider 1990, with Thonemann 2011a: 170–3. *Cistophoroi* of Synnada: Thonemann 2011a: 56.

¹⁰⁶ Ashton and Kinns 2003: 46–7.

¹⁰⁷ The Mysoi Abbaeitai, Akmoneia, Aizanoi, Amorion, Apameia, Appia, Dionysopolis, the Epiktēteis, Eriza, Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Hydrela, Kibyra, Kolossai, Laodikeia, Leonnaia, Peltai, Philomelion, Prymnessos, Sanaos, Synnada. See *BMC Phrygia*, xx–cvi; von Aulock 1980: 40–91; von Aulock 1987: 13–43; Leschhorn 1997 (overview). The number of Phrygian mint-authorities rises to 52 by the second century AD.

¹⁰⁸ Smekalova 2009; Thonemann 2010: 173; Thonemann 2011a: 47 and 106. A large hoard of Apameian bronzes has recently been published: Arslan and Devecioğlu 2011.

cultural phenomenon of the first importance. It will not do simply to call this ‘Hellenization’ (or ‘Romanization’ for that matter). Of course, these particular cultural practices had strong associations with the Greek *poleis* of western Asia Minor and the Aegean, and the wish to ‘look like’ those coastal *poleis* must, in part, underlie this shift.¹⁰⁹ But that does not explain why this particular set of cultural artefacts was adopted, or why they were adopted at this precise moment. The case of the neighbouring region of Kappadokia, in the eastern part of the central Anatolian plateau, is instructive. Despite apparently experiencing a similar process of gradual and piecemeal acculturation in the third and second centuries BC, Kappadokia never underwent the kind of wholesale cultural shift which we see in first-century Phrygia: the epigraphic habit never took off, communities describing themselves as *poleis* are few and far between, and the production of civic bronze coinage in the region is virtually non-existent.¹¹⁰

It is hard not to connect the late Hellenistic cultural ‘shift’ in Phrygia with the sharply increased exploitation of the region’s human and material resources by the Roman state. Phrygia had been incorporated into the new Roman province of Asia at some point between 122 and 116 BC, and Italian businessmen (predominantly slave-traders) and their freedmen soon began to settle in the region.¹¹¹ It is striking how many of the earliest Greek and Latin inscriptions to appear in Phrygia reflect, directly or indirectly, the activities of these early Italian *negotiatores*. The two earliest surviving inscriptions from Akmoneia in central Phrygia serve respectively to honour the city’s Italian patron and to record the establishment of a slave-market at Akmoneia by a Roman legate, C. Sornatius Barba, in the late 70s or early 60s BC.¹¹² One of the oldest extant inscriptions from the *emporion* at Apameia-Kelainai in southern Phrygia is a monumental bilingual Greek–Latin *ex testamento* dedication for a deceased Roman *negotiator*, C. Vennonius Eros, the freedman of a man known from Cicero’s correspondence to have been in business in the province of Asia between 50 and 46 BC.¹¹³ At

¹⁰⁹ Low-denomination coinage as symbol of Greek civic identity: Robert 1966b: 87–8; Robert, *OMS* VI, 125–35.

¹¹⁰ Kappadokian ‘Sonderweg’: Mitchell 1993: I 85–6, 97–8. Hellenistic acculturation: Robert 1963: 457–523. Absence of bronze civic coinage: *RPC* I, pp. 550–9; cf. Howgego 2005: 17.

¹¹¹ Phrygia incorporated into Asia: Drew-Bear 1978: 1–8; Ryan 2001. Italian *negotiatores*: Delplace 1977; Errington 1988; Kirbihler 2007. A vivid picture of the manner in which these immigrant Italians obtained land and status in the cities of inland Asia Minor is provided by Cicero’s account of Appuleius Decianus’ activities at Lydian Apollonis (*Flacc.* 70–80).

¹¹² *MAMA* VI 258 and 260, with Thonemann 2010: 172–3.

¹¹³ *MAMA* VI 202; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.25, 6.3.5; *Fam.* 13.72.2. I previously identified C. Vennonius Eros with Cicero’s friend (Thonemann 2011a: 99), but given the servile *cognomen* ‘Eros’, he is more likely to have been his freedman. Other early documents from Apameia: (i) *MAMA* VI 173

Laodikeia, a certain M. Sestius Philemo, no doubt the agent of another Roman businessman, was honoured by the *dēmos* of Laodikeia and a group of resident Romans, probably in the latter half of the first century BC.¹¹⁴ The earliest surviving inscription from the Büyüksincanlı ovası in central Phrygia, immediately to the north-east of Akmoneia, is a lavish funerary monument in Latin for M. Pinarius Tertius and his family; the first known inscription from Philomelion is the bilingual epitaph of an Italian woman by the name of Dindia, set up by her husband L. Timinius.¹¹⁵ Both of these last two monuments apparently date to the late first century BC or first century AD, and in each case we are clearly dealing with immigrant *negotiatores* who had chosen to settle permanently in Phrygia. Subsequently, in the first and second centuries AD, the names of several major Roman moneylenders and slave-traders of the Late Republican period – the Sestullius family, L. Egnatius Rufus and others – are found widely distributed across Phrygia, no doubt as the result of the permanent settlement of their freedmen and agents in the region.¹¹⁶

What is important here is not so much the evidence that these inscriptions provide for the activities of Roman *negotiatores* in Phrygia (interesting though that is), but the likelihood that this early Italian settlement in Phrygia might have directly led to the emergence of the ‘epigraphic habit’ in the region. This notion finds some support in the actual civic organization of these newly epigraphically active communities. By the early Roman Imperial period, numerous towns in Phrygia were regularly erecting honorific monuments for their citizens and benefactors, usually taking the distinctive Hellenistic form of bronze and marble statues on inscribed cylindrical or rectangular bases.¹¹⁷ By the early first century AD at the latest, groups of resident Roman *negotiatores* seem to have formed integral parts of very many of these new (or at least newly visible) Phrygian civic bodies. So the earliest extant public inscription from Prymnessos is a bilingual Greek–Latin honorific monument (dating to the early first century AD) for a Roman by the name of L. Arruntius Scribonianus, erected by the *dēmos* and the resident

(*BE* 1939, 400), decree in honour of the civic benefactor Kephisodoros (c. 168–166 BC); (ii) Drew-Bear and Fillon 2011: honours for the gymnasiarch Polystratos (mid-first century BC); (iii) *MAMA* IV 362, funerary epigram set up by Philoxenos for his parents (II/I BC; Bresson 2011: 299–300).

¹¹⁴ *I.Laodikeia* 48; Kearsley 2001: no. 56.

¹¹⁵ Pinarius: *MAMA* XI 162 (Kidyessos: Bal Mahmut). Timinius: Christol and Drew-Bear 1986: 41–3; Waelkens 1986: 262, no. 671 (*SEG* 36, 1199).

¹¹⁶ Sestullii: Cic. *Flacc.* 34–5 (Sestullius in business at Akmoneia in late 60s BC); Mitchell 1979; Badian 1980; Drew-Bear 1980b: 179–82; Mitchell 1993: I 158. Egnatii: Thonemann 2010: 173–4.

¹¹⁷ Ma 2013.

Romans ‘who are in business there’.¹¹⁸ At Dorylaion, in the far north of Phrygia, the earliest known public inscription is an honorific statue-base for a certain Claudia, high-priestess of Asia, set up by ‘the *boulē* and the *dēmos* and the Roman businessmen (*pragmateuomenoi*)’.¹¹⁹ One of the first surviving inscriptions from Akmoneia is an honorific *stele* for a local high-priestess (dated to AD 6/7), erected by ‘the wives, both Greek and Roman’: this body, probably modelled on the Augustan *ordo matronarum* at Rome, acted as a female equivalent to the town’s male decision-making bodies, the Akmoneian *boulē* and *dēmos* and the resident Romans.¹²⁰ At Apameia, the resident Romans were involved in the city’s decision-making processes throughout the first and second centuries AD; in one decree of the late first century BC, the resident Romans form part of a *pandēmos ekklēsia* (‘assembly of the entire *dēmos*’), and a monument of AD 45/6 commemorates the first occasion on which Romans had occupied all five offices in the Apameian civic *archōn*-college.¹²¹

Roman Phrygia: an urban society?

It is evident that social identities in Phrygia – as in much of north-west Europe in the Late Republican and early Imperial periods – were fundamentally transformed by incorporation into the Roman *imperium*. But were the changes that we see in Phrygian cultural practices in the first century BC merely changes in collective self-representation, or was the emergence of civic institutions in Phrygia also accompanied by large-scale material changes in settlement patterns, production and exchange? This is a much harder question to answer, since we simply have no idea what most ordinary small Phrygian *poleis* of the Roman Imperial period looked like.¹²² Archaeological work in Roman Phrygia over the past century or so has focused on

¹¹⁸ IGR IV 675 (SEG 36, 1200; Kearsley 2001: no. 135): ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι; *Prymness(ii) et c(ives) R(omani) [qui (ibi) nego]tiantur*. A member of the same *gens*, L. Arruntius Thyrsos, was honoured by the *dēmos* and the resident Romans at Synnada: MAMA VI 372.

¹¹⁹ Mirbeau 1907: 77–8, no. 2 (ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι); Campanile 1994: 150, no. 184. The earliest public inscription from the Milyas is a dedication to Roma and Augustus, set up in 5/4 BC by ‘the Milyadeis and the Romans engaged in business (*pragmateuomenoi*) among them and the Thracians dwelling among them’: SEG 36, 1207; *I.BurdurMus* 328; Thonemann 2008: 57.

¹²⁰ Thonemann 2010: [αἱ γυναῖκες Ἑλληνίδες τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖαι].

¹²¹ IGR IV 791, with Robert 1969: 310: [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες] Ῥωμαῖοι . . . ἀγομένης πανδήμου ἐκκλησίας. *Archon*-college: IGR IV 792, with Thonemann 2011a: 99–100.

¹²² Urban life in Phrygia and Galatia in the Roman period: Mitchell 1993: I 80–99, 198–226.

a handful of impressive but highly exceptional urban centres on the outer periphery of the region, in the far south (Laodikeia, Hierapolis, Antioch by Pisidia) and north-west (Aizanoi).¹²³ But it is important to recognize that these ‘middle-range’ cities were an entire order of magnitude larger than the overwhelming majority of *poleis* in Roman Phrygia (Dionysopolis, Eumeneia, Sebaste, Akmonia, Temenouthyrai, Kadoi, Appia, Prymnessos, etc.). Aside from the fact that both had a *boulē* and a *dēmos* and struck bronze coins from time to time, a big industrial town like Hierapolis-Pamukkale can have had little in common with a tiny agrarian community like Hierapolis-Koçhisar.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, the well-excavated site of Gordion is of very limited comparative value for this period: the Roman-period settlement at Gordion (Claudian-Trajanic period) is now known to have been a garrison town inhabited by Roman auxiliaries, and is therefore unlikely to have been characteristic of urban centres in the region.¹²⁵

The best-known small-scale urban settlement in Roman Phrygia is now the small town of Blaundos, situated in the far south-west of the Phrygian cultural zone, surveyed by a German team between 1999 and 2002 (Fig. 1.4).¹²⁶ Blaundos was situated on a spur overlooking the gorge of the Hippourios river, a northern affluent of the river Maeander. The main area of urban settlement covered an area of some 4–5 hectares on the flat peak of the spur, with a less dense concentration of domestic buildings strung along the eastern flank of the settlement hill. The central part of the settlement, apparently laid out on a small grid plan, was adorned with a respectable number of monumental buildings, largely dating to the Flavian period, and many of them paid for by two wealthy Roman citizens, C. Mummius Macer and C. Octavius.¹²⁷ The main east–west street, around 200 metres in length, was flanked on both sides by a monumental Doric portico. Adjoining this street to the north were a substantial temple of Demeter and a large gymnasium complex, occupying almost a hectare between them. To the south of the main street lay what was probably an *agora* and associated basilica, and a stadium and theatre were situated on the east flank of the spur; to the north, outside the main settlement zone, stood a much larger temple complex. The surviving epigraphy of Blaundos is in a mixture of Greek and Latin, including several bilingual texts; an Italian immigrant population is

¹²³ For Laodikeia and Hierapolis, see above, n. 34. Antioch: Mitchell and Waelkens 1998; Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan and Thomas 2002. Aizanoi: Rheidt 2010.

¹²⁴ Pleket 2003. On Hierapolis-Pamukkale, see Thonemann 2011a: 185–90; on Hierapolis-Koçhisar, *TIB Phrygien* 272–3, s.v. Hierapolis 2; Thonemann 2012. For a formal distinction between small, middle-range and large *poleis* in Asia, see *Dig.* 27.1.6.2.

¹²⁵ Goldman 2005; Goldman 2010. ¹²⁶ Filges 2006; summary in Filges 2003.

¹²⁷ Macer and Octavius: Filges 2006: 189–97; 321–7, nos. 2–9.

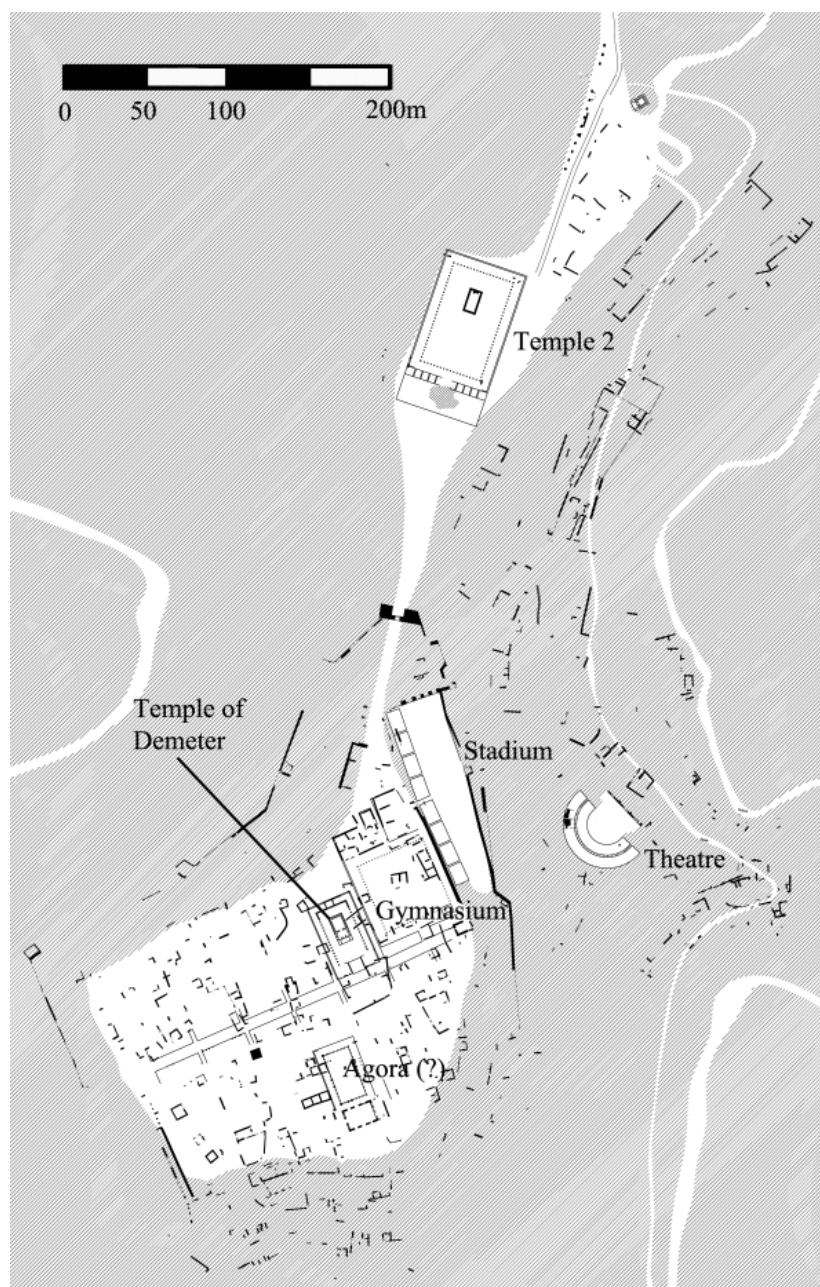


Figure 1.4. Blaundos, site plan. Filges 2006: 36, Abb. 15.

directly attested by a statue-base from the territory of Blaundos, dating to AD 88, erected by ‘the Romans and [Greeks] living at Naïs’.¹²⁸

The first thing that strikes one about Blaundos is how successfully it imitates, albeit on a much smaller scale, the cityscapes of the great urban centres of western Asia Minor. But equally striking is the minuscule size of the settlement as a whole. The urban centre of Blaundos is closely comparable in size to the small Lykian town of Kyaneai (4.5 hectares), which possessed a *total* urban population of no more than a thousand inhabitants.¹²⁹ At Kyaneai, the total population of town and dependent territory in the Roman Imperial period has been plausibly estimated as 6,200 persons – that is to say, with the population of the *chōra* outnumbering that of the urban centre by four or five to one. The theatre at Kyaneai had space for some 2,500 people; on the assumption that the chief use of the theatre was for popular assemblies, rather than for artistic performances, this provides us with a plausible maximum figure for the adult male citizen population of Kyaneai.¹³⁰ The theatre at Blaundos was smaller than that at Kyaneai, with seating only for some 1,600 people, and it therefore seems likely that the total population of *astu* and *chōra* at Blaundos was also somewhat smaller than at Kyaneai.¹³¹ I would tentatively propose a total urban and rural population for Blaundos of c. 5,000 people, divided between central settlement and dependent territory in the proportion 1:4.

The importance of Blaundos – assuming that this reconstruction is not wildly incorrect – is that it provides us with a possible model for the scale and character of the smaller Phrygian *poleis* of the Roman Imperial period. The monumental built environment at Blaundos, so far as we can tell, represents not a *systematic* concentration of surplus in the urban centre – and thus structural economic differentiation between city-dwellers and the rural population – but the euergetic behaviour of two very rich Roman landowners. The relationship between urban Blaundos and its dependent territory was neither generative nor parasitic, since – we assume – most of the inhabitants of the urban centre were simply farmers who happened to work nearby bits of Blaundene territory. If we were seeking to pigeonhole the settlement in ideal-type terms, the notion of an ‘agro-town’ is perhaps most helpful: an agglomeration of people acting as a nucleus of primary production, with limited specialization of labour, and certainly nothing resembling an ‘urban economy’.¹³²

¹²⁸ Filges 2006: 331, no. 17: οἱ ἐν Νάει κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ [Ἕλληνες]; cf. Thonemann 2010: 169.

¹²⁹ Summary in Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 34–41; Kolb 2008: 285.

¹³⁰ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 40. ¹³¹ Theatre: Filges 2006: 129–32, 317.

¹³² Blok 1969; Purcell 2005: 257–8.

Nonetheless, although the actual population of the ‘urban centre’ of Blaundos may have been no larger than that of a big village, the inhabitants of Blaundos clearly construed it as a city-community, a *polis*. Just as at Aizanoi in the mid-first century BC, the inhabitants of Roman Blaundos asserted the ‘*polis*-ness’ of their community through certain kinds of institutional behaviour: minting bronze coins, passing honorific decrees, erecting large Doric porticoes and so forth. Even though in functional and demographic terms Blaundos was indistinguishable from a large Phrygian village, the town’s architecture and institutions asserted a strong claim to urbanity.¹³³ It mattered intensely to the Blaundenoi that they should fulfil certain expectations about what a respectable, ‘Hellenic’ (or Graeco-Roman) community ought to look like. Similarly, I have argued elsewhere – on the basis of documentary and numismatic evidence, rather than archaeology – that Roman Apameia, described by Strabo in the Augustan period as ‘a great *emporion* of Asia, second only to Ephesos’, never in fact developed a large permanent urban population. Instead, the ‘urban’ centre of Apameia served certain periodic economic and institutional functions for a huge and amorphous ‘hinterland’, not in this case restricted to its formally dependent *chōra*, but extending across much of southern Phrygia.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, as at Blaundos, the ‘city’ had both a physical reality (one could not have mistaken Apameia or Blaundos, with their theatres, stadia and temples, for *kōmai*) and an institutional reality (there actually was a *boulē* and a *dēmos* which met from time to time to pass honorific decrees).

Describing Phrygia under Roman rule as an ‘urbanized’ society thus conceals a critical ambiguity. A dominant *culture of urbanization* (leading to the construction of dozens of monumental built environments and the very widespread adoption of certain institutional forms) went hand in hand with extremely limited *urbanism* (since no functional or demographic distinction seems to have emerged between the urban and agrarian sectors).¹³⁵ It is symptomatic that particular settlements seem to have slid easily back and forth between different institutional statuses without any resultant changes to local ecological dynamics.¹³⁶ When a Roman emperor – probably Diocletian – granted Tymandos in southern Phrygia the status of a *polis* in the early fourth century AD, he did not even bother to enquire into the physical fabric or population of the town; the sole consideration that weighed

¹³³ Functional and demographic indistinguishability of small cities and big villages in Phrygia: Mitchell 1993: I 176–81.

¹³⁴ Thonemann 2011a: 99–129. For recent archaeological work at Apameia – not, as yet, undermining this model – see Summerer, Ivantchik and Kienlin 2011.

¹³⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000: 89–115 is helpful here.

¹³⁶ Cf. already the grant of *polis*-status to Toriaion by Eumenes II in the mid 180s BC: Jonnes and Riel 1997 (*SEG* 47, 1745); *I.Sultan Dağ* 393; Thonemann 2008: 43–53.

with him was whether or not the community could reliably provide enough wealthy men to serve as decurions (fifty at a time).¹³⁷ Likewise, in the mid 320s AD, after a period of political subordination to the city of Nakoleia, the inhabitants of the village (*vicus*, Gk. κώμη) of Orkistos in eastern Phrygia successfully appealed to the emperor Constantine to be promoted to the status of a city (*oppidum et civitas*, Gk. πόλις). Constantine grants the request on the grounds that Orkistos stands at the junction of four major roads (and therefore will be useful as an Imperial post station), has an abundance of fresh water, bathhouses, and watermills, has an *agora* with statues of former emperors, and possesses a large ‘permanently resident’ population (*populus commanentium*), who happen to be overwhelmingly Christian.¹³⁸ It is telling that Constantine felt the need to emphasize that Orkistos had a large body of ‘permanent residents’: apparently this could not be taken for granted in early fourth-century Phrygia.

In reality, settlement and political organization in Phrygia remained stubbornly decentralized throughout the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods (and, for that matter, in the late antique and Byzantine eras). There is very little sign of the emergence of strong centre–periphery relations either within or between individual Phrygian *poleis*.¹³⁹ One particularly striking indication of the ‘cellular’ organization of Phrygian society under the Empire is the degree of local variation in style and content found in the funerary monuments of the region. Virtually every small town in Phrygia had its own distinctive funerary practices and vocabulary; it is remarkably easy to spot an inscription which has wandered more than a few miles from its original home (a ‘*pierre errante*’). So, for example, the funerary inscriptions of Apameia-Kelainai characteristically take the form ‘x constructed this *heröon* . . . into which another will not be placed; if anyone undertakes to do so, (he will be subject to a fine or curse)’ (ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώον . . . εἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει τεθῆναι . . .). The two distinctive items here are the use of the relative clause ‘into which another will not be placed (εἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται) and the verb ‘undertake’ (ἐπιτηδεύειν): aside from a tiny handful of funerary inscriptions from the neighbouring town of Eumeneia, both of these formulaic elements are effectively confined to the single settlement of Apameia.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, at

¹³⁷ MAMA IV 236; Bru, Labarre and Özsaıt 2009.

¹³⁸ MAMA VII 305; Chastagnol 1981; Jacques 1992.

¹³⁹ Phrygian villages seem to have retained a large degree of institutional autonomy from their urban centres: Mitchell 1993: I 176–87, 195–7; Schuler 1998: 273–88.

¹⁴⁰ Relative clause (εἰς ὃ . . . οὐ τεθήσεται *vel sim.*): 33 instances among the Apameian inscriptions in Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 457–80, nos. 281–352; 533–9, nos. 385–399*bis*; MAMA VI 173–238; see

Eumeneia, very many funerary inscriptions carry the isolated word ‘Door’ (θύρα); the significance of the term remains uncertain, but the crucial point for our purposes is that it is peculiar to Eumeneia.¹⁴¹ The town and territory of Akmoneia have produced numerous funerary monuments in the form of pedestals (*bōmoî*) topped with an omphalos or pine-cone, carrying moulded panels on all four sides, inscribed on the front face and with domestic objects depicted in relief on the lateral and rear faces; once again, monuments of this type appear nowhere else in Phrygia.¹⁴² This ubiquitous cultural diversity at the most local level is important, since it is an index of the extent to which the region remained characterized, even in the second and third centuries AD, by extreme political and social fragmentation.¹⁴³

Conclusion: being Phrygian

During the early first millennium BC, the Phrygian cultural zone in inner Anatolia was home to one of the most complex and differentiated societies anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean. On any number of indices of social complexity – the use of writing, craft specialization, concentration of authority, levels of urbanism, social stratification – Iron Age Phrygia was significantly in advance of, say, the contemporary Greek-speaking societies of the Aegean basin. This advantage was not maintained. Around the middle of the first millennium BC, in the aftermath of the Persian conquest of Anatolia (c. 546 BC), Phrygian society underwent a dramatic process of simplification. The Phrygian proto-state collapsed – or, perhaps more accurately, withered away – taking with it internal differentiation and functional specialization. Literacy was lost altogether, in some parts of Phrygia

Thonemann 2011c. ‘If anyone undertakes to do so’ (εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει): 44 Apameian instances; see Bresson 2011: 298. Eumeneian instances: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 384, no. 225; 394, no. 276; *SEG* 28, 1150, 1158. The verb seems regularly to have been used in a funerary context elsewhere only at Anazarbos in Kilikia: *I.Anazarbos* 78, 95, 111.

¹⁴¹ Drew-Bear 1978: 59–62. The so-called ‘Eumeneian formula’ (warning a potential violator of the tomb that ‘he will have to reckon with God’) is in fact widely distributed across southern Phrygia, although it is most common at Eumeneia: Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII, 399–413 (with earlier bibliography); Feissel 1980: 463–4; Trebilco 2002. On Phrygian curse-formulae and their geographical distribution, see Strubbe 1991; 1994; 1997.

¹⁴² Robert, *Hellenica* X, 247–56. Four new examples are published in *MAMA* XI (85, 121, 123–4); see further Mitchell and Chiricat, Chapters 8–9 below.

¹⁴³ For microregional diversity within a common cultural stock as characteristic of Iron Age Europe, see Woolf 1997. The Phrygian ‘doorstones’ (Waelkens 1986; Lochman 2003: 147–84; Kelp, Chapter 4 below) are an excellent example of a regionally distinctive artefact-type – found throughout Phrygia and almost nowhere else – which nonetheless shows extreme local variation.

for half a millennium or more; there is good evidence for a shift from agricultural to pastoral modes of production along the fringe of the Anatolian plateau.

This process of ‘de-statification’ determined the subsequent shape of Phrygian history, both throughout antiquity and beyond. During the two centuries after the Macedonian conquest of Asia, the land of Phrygia was colonized by Graeco-Macedonian settlers on an increasingly large scale. To all appearances, these Greek-speaking peoples formed a dominant ethno-class in many parts of Phrygia (certainly in the central and northern valleys), and acculturation among the existing Phrygian population was uneven at best. During the first century of Roman rule, the trappings of civic life, including local coinages and public epigraphy, become widespread throughout Phrygia, apparently under the stimulus of widespread Italian settlement in the region. But although at first sight Roman Phrygia may look like a highly urbanized society, carved up into dozens of independent *polis*-territories, each with its own civic institutions, monumental urban centres, bronze coinages and so forth, I have argued that this is in fact a mirage. A dominant ethos of *polis*-culture and *polis*-life (which evolved partly for reasons of cultural prestige, partly for Roman administrative convenience) concealed patterns of settlement and production which remained largely cellular and autarkic. There is little evidence for the emergence of any real functional or demographic differentiation between the urban and agrarian sectors.

The ideologies and value-systems projected by the funerary epigraphy of Roman Phrygia are fully discussed elsewhere in this volume, particularly in the contributions of Ute Kelp (Chapter 4) and Jane Masségla (Chapter 5). But it is worth emphasizing here how even the largest and most lavish funerary monuments to survive from this region – doorstones and relief *stelai* – almost invariably depict the tools and values of agricultural and pastoral labour (farm implements, beasts of burden, sheep, vines, and ploughs) alongside more familiar Romanizing elements (writing paraphernalia, *toga* and *pallia*, etc.).¹⁴⁴ The prominence of work and production in Phrygian funerary relief sculpture is mirrored in the funerary epigraphy. In the Phrygian Highlands and on the western fringe of the Axylon we find Phrygians proudly describing themselves as ‘farmers’

¹⁴⁴ Waelkens 1977 remains the only detailed study of the values and social identities projected by Phrygian funerary reliefs; see now also Masségla, Chapter 5 below. Particularly striking examples derive from the territory of Dorylaion: Waelkens 1986: 131–41, nos. 326–58; cf. Mitchell 1993: I 171, fig. 27.

(γεωργός) in their funerary inscriptions.¹⁴⁵ Craftsmen of all kinds (stone-masons, blacksmiths, mint masters, knife makers, etc.) set up high-quality funerary monuments proclaiming, and often visually depicting, their particular skills, and itinerant Dokimeian stone-masons are a common presence in Phrygian epigraphy.¹⁴⁶ The earliest surviving funerary inscription from the Burdur district, in the Pisido-Phrygian borderlands, commemorates a certain Attas son of Menestheus (second century BC). Although Attas is described as ‘a friend to leading men’, suggesting that he was a member of the local elite, nonetheless the first term of praise applied to him in his epitaph is ‘hard-working’ (φιλόεργον).¹⁴⁷ The pre-eminent social value assigned by Phrygians to the world of work – and in particular, to the world of subsistence production – is an indication of how superficially the inhabitants of this region were assimilated into the Roman value-system.¹⁴⁸

I have suggested that the withering away of the Iron Age Phrygian state, and the stubborn underdevelopment of Phrygia throughout the rest of antiquity, may represent a positive and ‘rational’ – even if not fully conscious – choice in favour of structural simplicity. Social and economic institutions in post-Iron Age Phrygia evolved in such a way as to militate against the emergence of new state-forms or revived internal stratification. In the first volume of *The Sources of Social Power*, Michael Mann has vividly evoked humankind’s long prehistory of cyclical rejection of hierarchies and states. Complex societies have emerged again and again in Europe, Anatolia and the Middle East; but throughout prehistory, whenever those societies showed signs of developing permanent coercive institutions, their members simply chose membership in alternative social units, and walked

¹⁴⁵ Haspels 1971: I 314 no. 41 (Yapıldak: Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/41/10): γεωργός ἀνὴρ; Haspels 1971: I 311–12 no. 37 (Güllü Ören: Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/41/03): τὸν ἐπιχθονίοισι γεωργόν; SEG 1, 459 (Turgut [Klaneos]: Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/45/09): ἦν δὲ γεωργός. Cf. also Haspels 1971: I 360, no. 135, in which Agathon, a δοῦλος γεωργός, erects a votive monument to Zeus Bronton on behalf of his master C. Cornelius Longinus ‘and his flocks’.

¹⁴⁶ Stone-mason: SEG 30, 1481 (MAMA X p.186 P46; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/22/05: Tiberiopolis): Euprepes, whose parents ‘adorned me with the skill of stone-masonry’ (λατομικὴ δὲ τέχνη κοσμήσαντο γονῆς). Blacksmith: Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 85, no. 210 (Eumeneia: SEG 6, 228). Mint-master: Drew-Bear and Lochman 1991 (Akmoneia). Knife maker: Drew-Bear 1978: 102, no. 39 (Eumeneia: SEG 28, 1140). Dokimeian stone-masons: Robert, OMS VII 107–9; Robert 1980: 227; Hall and Waelkens 1982. The list could easily be extended.

¹⁴⁷ *I.BurdurMus* 204 (SEG 48, 1551). The virtue of φιλεργία seems otherwise only to be applied to slaves (*I.Iznik* 192) and women (Haspels 1971: I 313, no. 40; MAMA VIII 117).

¹⁴⁸ For a similar emphasis on work as a distinctive element of freedmen’s funerary self-representation at Rome, see Joshel 1992; George 2006. Compare, too, the occupational pride of the industrialists of Hierapolis-Pamukkale: Thonemann 2011a: 189–90 (cf. 240–1).

away. If states are cages, then for most of history, ‘the doors have been left unlocked’.¹⁴⁹ Sooner or later, these long cycles of centralization and decentralization came to an end everywhere (in some places, such as Scott’s Zomia, perhaps only within the last fifty years). Phrygia experienced the last of these cycles in the first millennium BC, later than many, perhaps most, of her Mediterranean and Near-Eastern neighbours. Here, as almost nowhere else in the ancient world, we can trace the long struggle of a village society to preserve itself against the encroachments of the state.

¹⁴⁹ Mann 1986: 63–70; cf. Scott 2009: 187–90.

2 | In the Phrygian mode: a region seen from without*

BARBARA LEVICK

Ἄλλ' ἀεὶ κακοὶ Φρύγες (Eur. *Or.* 1448)

Jon Solomon describes the Phrygian mode or *harmonia* as one of those created in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, from a variety of communities. He has ‘the Dorian from the austere tribe of southern Greece, the Lydian from the affluent, haughty, oriental society of the Asian coast’. The Phrygian *tonos* took its name from the ‘unbounded, ecstatic peoples of the wild, mountainous regions of the Anatolian highlands’. The Dorian scale consisted in a tonic with succeeding notes following at intervals of 1/4 tone, 1/4 tone, 2 tones; then, after the interval of another tone, the pattern was repeated; the Phrygian had the tonic followed by intervals of two tones, two 1/4 tones, 2 tones, one tone, and two 1/4 tones.¹

The connotations that Solomon ascribed to the Phrygian mode are one-sided. There is little here of the soft character, verging on effeminate, that is traditionally ascribed to the people. Phrygian *auloi*, oboes, are familiar to Euripides, who alludes to the mode in connection with Asiatics and Bacchic worship.² By the time we get to Aristotle, for whom both the *aulos* and the mode are exciting – *orgiastika* – the philosopher is claiming, in a disapproving passage, that ‘everything Bacchic is inherent in the oboe’, and ‘the dithyramb seems indisputably to be Phrygian’.³ After all, the instrument was invented by the Lydian satyr Marsyas, who taught the Mysian or Phrygian piper Olympos.⁴ But the neglect of luxury and softness is not a

* In producing this chapter I have enjoyed the musical help of Dr K. Forsyth, Dr J. Williamson, Mr T. Carter, Ms M. Lloyd, and Ms L. Manning.

¹ Solomon 1984: 249; cf. West 1992: 174–5. In mediaeval and modern parlance, there was an exchange of names between ‘Dorian’ and ‘Phrygian’ modes, without any evidence that the more recent scales are real descendants of either of these Greek scales.

² Phrygian *aulai*, *auloi*: Eur. *Bacch.* 127; *IA* 576. Asiatic and Bacchic connotations of Phrygian mode: West 1992: 181, n. 75. According to Solomon 1984: 249, ‘The music of the *Orestes* papyrus [Pöhlmann 1970: no. 34] ... can be shown to belong to the Phrygian (or Dorian) *harmonia*.’

³ Arist. *Pol.* 1342b7.

⁴ Marsyas and Olympos: West 1992: 332, n. 16, citing Telestes in Page, *PMG* 806; Clem. *Strom.* 1.76.4–6; Olympos was in one version taken to be contemporary with Midas. According to Plin.

serious problem: the roots of the orgiastic and the luxurious both lie in the same lack of self-discipline.

More seriously, only the Phrygian mode, alongside the warlike Dorian, is admitted to Plato's *Republic*.⁵ It is civil rather than military, but fit for use in daily business soberly conducted. It is not surprising, then, to be reminded by Martin West how close the two modes are.⁶ He concludes that the Phrygian was appropriate to a range of moods, from cheerful bonhomie to wild excitement or religious frenzy; religious connotations gained it admittance to the *Republic*. One might go further and say that, however they were exploited, there should be little inherent difference between the Dorian and Phrygian modes when their intervals were so close: the style has been imposed as part of an existing stereotype.

For the Greeks to have called a mode by an alien name shows its esteem, even if what Greek musicians played was not exactly what might have been heard in central Anatolia, any more than Bach's 'Italian' Concerto could have been composed by anyone but that particular German composer. Already in the seventh and sixth centuries 'Phrygian melody' was familiar to Alcman and Stesichoros.⁷ Not only the mode but musicians are written of. Pindar dedicated his twelfth *Pythian* to Midas, oboist of Akragas. They were also depicted on vases from the mid-sixth century, such as the Attic amphora showing an *aulētēs* named Olympos. Some of the performers represented are slaves with Phrygian names, which suggests one of the routes by which music continued to pass to the west, and the possibility that it was prestigious to possess a slave who could be known by a Phrygian name. So the sixteenth-century English composer John Cooper aimed for success by going under the name 'Giovanni Copperario'.⁸ Greek music as a whole, as West points out, was operating in a zone between Afro-Asiatic and European culture.⁹

There are two questions: how did the Phrygians acquire their twofold reputation and did they deserve it? For Homer, Phrygian warriors were fit allies for Trojan champions, themselves a match for the Greeks. Priam

HN 7.204 Midas invented the *tibia obliqua*, i.e. the transverse flute, Marsyas (also a Phrygian) the double.

⁵ Phrygian mode in the *Republic*: Plato, *Rep.* 399a.

⁶ West 1992: 174–5; moods: West 1992: 180–1.

⁷ Alcman: *PMG* 109 (Strabo 12.8.21); Stesichoros: *PMG* 212 (Ar. *Pax* 797–8) a 'spring song'. See West 1992: 339, n. 46.

⁸ *Aulētai*: West 1992: 331, n. 11, citing Pind. *Pyth.* 12 and Aristodemos, *FGrH* 383F13, for Olympos of Thebes. Vase: Wegner 1963: 71. *Aulētai* with Phrygian names, appropriate to slaves: Ath. 14.624b.

⁹ West 1992: 386–90.

has seen how numerous they were 'with nimble steeds . . . when they were fighting on the banks of the Sangarius against Amazons'.¹⁰

In history King Midas' (c. 768–696 BC) and his Phrygians' reputation for wealth, perhaps grain-based, for all his rejection of the ants' grain in favour of gold, is justified by the remains of Gordion.¹¹ For Tyrtaeus, Midas was already mythically rich.¹² Herodotus claims that he sent a splendid gift to Delphi,¹³ and Phrygians were ahead of contemporary Geometric Greece in material culture and closer to the powers on their south-eastern borders.¹⁴ That reputation could breed envy. And after fighting off the Cimmerians they fell at a contested date¹⁵ to the Lydians, who have given us the phrase 'as rich as Croesus' and who in turn were conquered after the middle of the sixth century by a people known not for wealth but for the military ability to acquire it. Phrygians then looked doubly feeble. Midas' punishment is a theme in Greek literature, and the Greeks got him over quickly. He was shown on vase painting in the later fifth century, but it was Aristophanes in the *Ploutos* (388 BC) who first maliciously wrote of him as wearing his Phrygian cap to hide the donkey ears inflicted on him by Apollo.¹⁶ In time the Persian Empire, with its Phrygian and Lydian satrapies, itself took on the same luxurious gleam for envious Greeks, and fell like them. Persians, Parthians, even Dacians are shown wearing the Phrygian cap that belongs to Attis, Mithras and naturally Paris.

In cultural interaction, Phrygians took more than Greeks. Along with alphabet and language, where they made their own stamp,¹⁷ they accepted the names of Greek deities, including top-rankers like Zeus, modifying

¹⁰ Phrygians in *H. Il.* 2.862 (led by Phorkys), 3.184–9, regardless of their arrival in Asia after the Trojan War: Xanthos of Sardeis, *FGrH* IIIc 675F14 (Strabo 14.5.29). (They and the Trojans speak different languages: *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 5.111–15.) Antiquity of the Phrygians, outclassing that of the Egyptians: cf. the story of Psammetichus: Hdt. 2.2.

¹¹ The Midas figure: Càssola 1997; remains of Gordion: Sams 1997, and see Thonemann, Chapter 1 above. Ants conveying corn ears to the child: Val. Max. 1.6 *ext.* 2; Ael. *VH* 12.45.

¹² Wealthy Midas in (later seventh-century) Tyrtaios Fr. 9, line 6 (Prato). Note also the fragrant gardens of Midas son of Gordios in Thrace: Hdt. 8.138.2.

¹³ Midas' gift: West 1997: 331, n. 11, with Hdt. 1.14.2–3. Càssola 1997: 143–4 asks whether the gift did not come from a later, sixth-century Midas, Hdt. 1.35 and 45.

¹⁴ On the derivation of the Phrygian alphabet, however, see Càssola 1997: 145; for the titulature of King Midas, cf. Brixhe 2002c: 259.

¹⁵ Destruction at Gordion and advanced state of Phrygian culture in relation to Geometric Greece: DeVries et al. 2003, and see Thonemann, Chapter 1 above.

¹⁶ Midas' punishment: Càssola 1997: 132, citing Ar. *Plout.* 287; got over quickly by Greeks: 133.

¹⁷ Phrygian impact on Greek: Brixhe 2002c: 256–65. Also the Greek system of inheritance? J. Fraser 1906: 149.

them with appropriate epithets.¹⁸ They also used Greek names for deities who had no equivalent in the Greek pantheon, like Hosios kai Dikaïos ('Holy and Just'). But they went on with some of their own under their original names. Men is acknowledged like the Megale Meter and the Sky God to be one of the indigenous deities of the Phrygians – perhaps pre-Phrygian.¹⁹

With a language²⁰ and mythology available from a culture that considered itself superior to all others, cultural values were also acquired, so that eventually a Phrygian community in Roman times might come to honour its leader for Greek qualities: σοφία,²¹ γνώμη²² and above all ἐπιστήμη.²³ Greeks for their part took on cults that were alluring and excitingly awesome, notably that of the Megale Meter.²⁴ Phrygians were not incomprehensible barbarians: there are no serious us–them confrontations about family life and customs, only bizarre tastes – their cheese made from mixed mares' and she-asses' milk.²⁵

Finally, along came the Romans to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor and to reward their own military capacity. From the riches that the consul Cn. Manlius Vulso won on his march through Anatolia in 189 BC, many Romans thought they caught the disease of luxury that threatened Rome's survival from then on.²⁶

So the Romans took a severe view of people who suffered multiple conquests without sharing the Greeks' cultural superiority. Accius (170–c. 86 BC) says only that Phrygia was a soft-mannered country,²⁷ but Cicero, defending an ex-governor of Asia, claims that Phrygians combine the

¹⁸ Mother goddesses were identified by their home. Of course, we must beware of becoming entangled in what Robert, *OMS* VII 555, n. 16, playfully called 'les aberrations du syncrétisme asianique ramsayen'.

¹⁹ Indigenous deities: Mitchell 1993: II 1–31. *Recueil* of the Magna Mater on Anatolian coins: Lacroix 1982: 17–26.

²⁰ Caution against attributing all peculiarities of language (e.g., πατριδαν) to the influence of Phrygian: J. Fraser 1906: 153 n.

²¹ Cf. σοφίης . . . διδάσκαλος in Buckler, Calder and Cox 1927: no. 230 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/93), lines A4 and 28.

²² Γνώμη: Petrie 1906: 119–20, no. 1 (*MAMA* X 77), line 6 (Altıntaş).

²³ Trophimos son of Anteros the wise leader of his πατρίς in Körte 1900: 410, no. 20, from Çakırsaz (after AD 250).

²⁴ Lacroix 1982: 33–4, nn. 147–51, traces her celebration in Greek poets from the Homeric *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, through Pind. *Fr.* 70b (Snell); *Soph. Phil.* 391–402; *Eur. Or.* 1453–4, and elsewhere.

²⁵ Phrygian cheese: Arist. *Hist. an.* 3.20 (522b). They are 'σόλοικοι' in Hipponax *Fr.* 38 (Degani).

²⁶ Vulso's march: Polyb. 21.33–9 (map: Walbank 1979: 141; Livy 38.12–17 and see Broughton 1951–86: I 360. Moral decline: Lintott 1972; Levick 1982.

²⁷ 'Softness' of Phrygia: Accius, *Trag.* line 241 (p.155 Dangel): *Phrygiam miti more esse usam, immani Graeciam.*

levitas of Greeks with the *crudelitas* of barbarians.²⁸ Elsewhere, when he has no brief demanding that he have them in his sights, he retails a Greek story. Pythagoras restrained an over-heated young man in Tauromenium from burning down his mistress' door by persuading the piper who was playing for him to change from the Phrygian mode to something more dignified. The story survived until Cassiodorus.²⁹

But the Romans were already enmeshed with Phrygia. Fifteen years before Vulso's march, in Livy's story, they imported the black stone from Pessinous, with its eunuch priests and ecstatic rituals. Fascination and scandal kept the issue of the cult alive at Rome until the Antonine age tamed and finally Romanized it.³⁰ Ironically this was long after Strabo tells us that the shrine had lost its importance, because Pessinus herself had sunk in relation to other communities.³¹ When in 101 BC her envoy arrived in Rome he had a mixed reception, rapturous from the plebs, chilly from senatorial *optimates*—something for politicians such as Marius and Saturninus to exploit.³²

Even the name of the Phrygians touched Rome. In verse it had come to stand for the Trojans. 'Cato . . . states that "After the arrival of Aeneas [the Aborigines] were united with the Phrygians, and called by the single name of Latins."' But when Sallust transmitted this information in his *Catiline*, he used the more acceptable name of Trojans.³³ In the *Aeneid* the link is fully established.³⁴ Peter Wiseman shows from *Aeneid* 6 how cunningly Augustus built the Great Mother into his new Rome: 'The Phrygian goddess has become the Trojan goddess' – although Ellen Oliensis is not satisfied, insisting that 'the Augustan Aeneas is shadowed by Kybele and the Phrygians'.³⁵

²⁸ Phrygian characteristics: Cic. *Flac.* 24. On the *Verona List* of c. 385 (*Nomina provinciarum omnium* in Riese 1878: 129) they figure with the Isaurians among *gentes barbarae quae pullulaverunt*.

²⁹ Tauromenian youth: Cic. *De cons. suis* Fr. 3 (Müller), cited by West 1992: 31, n. 89 and 181, n. 79, with other authors, including Lucr. 2.620, Quint. *Inst.* 1.10.32–3; Cassiod. *Var.* 2.40.4.

³⁰ Kybele at Rome: Turcan 1996: 49–61. Schepeleyn 1929: 203, n. 521 preferred Varro's claim (*Ling.* 6.15) that Rome owed her to Attalos I.

³¹ Decline of Pessinous: Strabo 12.5.3; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.

³² Mixed reception: Plut. *Mar.* 17.9–10; Diod. Sic. 36.13, with Wiseman 1984: 119, talking of 'madness and high camp'.

³³ Trojans as Phrygians in Cato: Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.6, with Cornell et al. (forthcoming); cf. Sall. *Cat.* 6.1. Already in post-Homeric Greek poets: Lacroix 1982: 16.

³⁴ Phrygians and Trojans: Wiseman 1984: 127–8; Kybele the *Phrygiam matrem*: Verg. *Aen.* 7.139; Augustan construction: 6.776–95. For Lucretius (2.600–60), see Lacroix 1982. It is not surprising that, as Lacroix also notes (42), the cult of Magna Mater is found at Autun, capital of the Aedui, who claimed kinship with the Romans, in AD 400: Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confess.* 76 (in Krusch 1884: 793).

³⁵ Aeneas shadowed: Oliensis 2010: 90–1.

Ill-repute persisted. As late as 1959 Peter Charanis exploited the horrendous description of Emperor Michael II the Amorian (820–9) in Theophanes Continuatus along those lines. Michael was under the influence of the sect of the ‘Untouchables’ (*Athinganoi*), spat out Hellenic culture, was so useless at composition and reading that anyone else could get through a whole book before he made out the letters of his own name.³⁶ ‘This,’ concludes Charanis, ‘no doubt was typical of the natives of Phrygia, many of whom may not have known any Greek at all.’ But we must allow for the Continuator’s hostility to an Emperor hesitant on iconoclasm and for the factor of class: there were yokels everywhere. The judgement would have offended any aspiring Phrygian who adorned his grave monument with verse or epic vocabulary for passers-by capable of reading it.³⁷

So far I have talked as if of the old organized Phrygian state, an entity with determinate boundaries, or of the areas eventually to be found as distinct Roman provinces. But our Phrygia’s ethnic and cultural boundaries were vast and indeterminate, extended by the imperial influence of the old state.³⁸ They reveal complex processes of cultural transfer. Anatolian ritual was embodied in Greek language, sacred buildings of local gods were assimilated to the secular buildings of Roman administration.³⁹ What makes Phrygia is a criss-cross of characteristics that also overlap with other areas, neighbouring, even overseas. If the Phrygians had been autochthonous the problem would be bad enough. But Herodotus’ ‘Brygians’ had crossed the Hellespont, dispersing in north-west Asia Minor and interacting with existing cultural strata.⁴⁰ Other immigrants accrued, until we find Bishop Selenas of Kotiaion preaching in Gothic and another living language, Phrygian.⁴¹

Whatever series of dots were joined up their lines would interweave. So *threptoi*, foster-children, form one thread that predominates in Phrygia but is widespread in Lydia and found elsewhere.⁴² A whole series of features, taken together, help to make an area in some sense ‘Phrygian,’ as Ikonion

³⁶ Michael II: Theophanes Continuatus p. 401 (Bekker), cited by Charanis 1959: 26.

³⁷ Literacy: Petrie 1906: 125, no. 7; sharers in education: 124, no. 6. A nuanced picture of the monolingual Phrygian-speaking population is given by Brixhe 2002c: 254–6.

³⁸ Difficulty of establishing boundaries of Phrygia: Mitchell 1993: I 175–6, with n. 98 for Strabo 12.4.4, etc.

³⁹ Assimilation: Chaniotis 2009: 143–4. ⁴⁰ ‘Brigian’ influx: Hdt. 7.73.

⁴¹ Celts: Paus. 1.4.5; Macedonian settlements: Mitchell 1993: I 20; 158; Jewish: Joseph AJ 12. 147–9; Roman: see most recently Thonemann 2010: 169–70. Bishop Selinas (end of fourth century): Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* 5. 23, cited by Mitchell 1993: I 174, cf. Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.17. Phrygian a living language: Brixhe 2002c: 252–3.

⁴² *Threptoi*: Riel 2009; see further Thonemann, Chapter 6 below.

was, far to the south-east, though it has no doorstones directly attested.⁴³ The doorstone itself is also found within a 'greater Phrygian cultural area',⁴⁴ and the four deities that Stephen Mitchell treats as fundamental to the people, forms of Zeus, of Mother goddesses, of Men and, most characteristically, the gods of justice Hosios and Dikaioi, all ruled elsewhere. So with Montanism.⁴⁵ It is its origin that makes it 'the Phrygian heresy', so that Montanists were still referred to as '*Phryges*' in the *Acts* of the Council of Trullo (AD 692).⁴⁶

Language and nomenclature are also unsafe guides to cultural boundaries. Imperial Paleo-Phrygian (800 BC–Alexander) imposed itself as far east as Tyana, while the fewer Neo-Phrygian inscriptions (c. AD 100–c. 250)⁴⁷ provide a core but do not mean that only actual users of the language would have regarded themselves as Phrygians; it is not only Welsh-speakers who regard themselves as Welsh. Again, Lucia Innocente writes of the difficulty of identifying Phrygian names, asking where Phrygia was,⁴⁸ while Claude Brixhe and Thomas Drew-Bear roundly note the intermix of Greek, Latin and indigenous names in geo-political Phrygia.⁴⁹ When a single *hetairia* could boast members called Stratonikos, Attalos, Aeneas, Cicero, and the novel Klandos among a dozen and a half pandemic Asian names, sensitivity to nomenclature looks blunted.⁵⁰

An area that is itself not a geographical unity was likely to produce these effects. Marc Waelkens' map showing distribution of monuments associated with viticulture, agriculture, sheep and horse rearing⁵¹ and the cult of Dionysus makes that clear. The preoccupations of different areas emerge, dictated also by the availability and tastes of stonemasons.⁵² But an overall preoccupation with small-scale farming is surely illustrated by

⁴³ Ikonion Phrygian: Waelkens 1986: 44, n. 43 (bibl.); doorstones indirectly attested: 258, no. 668. On the doorstones, see Kelp, Chapter 4 below.

⁴⁴ Brixhe 2002c: 249–51, summarizing the areas in which Phrygian survived, uses this phrase in plotting the incidence of doorstones and burial imprecations; see further Brixhe, Chapter 3 below.

⁴⁵ Montanism (second to fourth centuries AD) a Phrygian heresy: Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.6–19.1; see Gibson 1978: 125–44.

⁴⁶ Montanists as '*Phryges*': Charanis 1959: 26, citing Theophanes, *Chron.* 401 (de Boor).

⁴⁷ Survival of Phrygian: Price and Naeh 2009: 265–6.

⁴⁸ Neo-Phrygian inscriptions mapped: Calder, *MAMA* VII xlv. Summary of distribution: Brixhe 2002c: 247–8.

⁴⁹ Innocente 1997: 34; Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997: 104.

⁵⁰ Nomenclature from a *stèle* of the Motaleis at Geveze, on the Akçay, a tributary of the Maeander, and N. of Hierapolis: Robert, *OMS* VII 552.

⁵¹ Sheep: Waelkens 1977: 287, mentioning Hdt. 5.49.6, where Phrygians are πολυπρόβατῶτατοι, 'richest in sheep'.

⁵² Variety within Phrygia: Waelkens 1977: 279, noting that Homer's description of Phrygia as a region of vines in *Il.* 3.184 will belong to the Sangarios area.

the founding father Gordios with his two pairs of oxen, one to use for ploughing, the other to draw his cart.⁵³ Even when the Great Mother turns up at Aquileia in northern Italy it is in her essential persona as Mater Deum Magna Cereria.⁵⁴

The 'town and country' antithesis is another factor that plays us false.⁵⁵ The development of the *polis* at Aizanoi suggests that in Phrygia it would be unwise to draw too sharp a distinction between the two. Yet there were cultural differences between it and the Upper Tembris valley: proportionately fewer dedications to deities (c. 6 per cent to 11 per cent in one assemblage), while grave monuments are more common, as one might expect in a town with the products of a workshop easily available. Over half (c. 60 per cent) of grave monuments were of the doorstone type, less than half (c. 45 per cent) in the Upper Tembris. Failure to develop cities saved Phrygia from third-century decline: Aizanoi the *polis* suffered, along with its sculptural workshops, while the communities of the Upper Tembris soldiered on.⁵⁶

So one answer to the question, what or who is Phrygian, might be that it is whatever one who considers himself Phrygian deems to be so. Citizens of a *polis* might think of themselves as just that, as if they were Athenians, evading a question that might arise only when membership of a prestigious priesthood, as at Pessinous, was available to 'Phrygians' and 'Galatians'.⁵⁷ Ordinary farmers would have had some idea of past glories, based on the *Iliad*. What followed may have passed them by. As to boundaries, they were probably more interested in those between their own *chōra* and the next,⁵⁸ but they might then think as much of political or tax divisions, which also cut across ethnic boundaries,⁵⁹ as of cultural or religious ones. As we have seen, indigenous cults were diffused throughout the peninsula. The so-called 'confession inscriptions' recently treated by Angelos Chaniotis⁶⁰ belong both to Phrygia and to Lydia, are paralleled by Hittite rituals but are

⁵³ Gordios: Arr. *Anab.* 2.3; Just. *Epit.* 11.7. For Lucretius (2.610–13), according to Lacroix 1982: 34–5, Phrygia was the cradle of grain cultivation.

⁵⁴ Cereria: *CIL* 5.796, cited by Lacroix 1982: 40.

⁵⁵ See further Thonemann, Chapter 1 above.

⁵⁶ Differences between Aizanoi and the Upper Tembris exemplified in *MAMA* IX and X (1988; 1993); contrast between the later communities: Mitchell 1993: I 240.

⁵⁷ Phrygian consciousness and the contest at Pessinous: Brixhe 2002c: 251, citing *OGIS* 540–1.

⁵⁸ 'πατριδᾶς' of the villages to which one man belonged, and his advice and practical help to them: Petrie 1906: 124, no. 6.

⁵⁹ Achaemenid Phrygia was already part of one tax district with Paphlagonia and other regions: Hdt. 3.90.2.

⁶⁰ 'Confession inscriptions' a misnomer: the texts include other activities: Chaniotis 2009: 116–17. Macedonia: 129; Hittite parallels: 138; crossing boundaries generally: 143, 146.

also found in Macedonia.⁶¹ Regionally, accent might be useful as a criterion of foreignness,⁶² but it is unlikely that farmers halted their ploughs to ruminate on this, rather thinking of themselves simply as ‘us’ and of anyone outside their community as various sorts of ‘them’.

The name of Phrygia does not commonly figure on inscriptions, any more than the personal name ‘Phryx’.⁶³ It occurs in documents that brought the natives into relation with the governing power, as when the inhabitants of Orkistos note that their community lies on the borderland of Galatia and Phrygia.⁶⁴ Incomers do name the region: a man honoured by his city in Hellenistic times who pitched up in Phrygia ‘with its plentiful horses’;⁶⁵ Debborah the woman from Antioch married to a man of Sillyon, who in the first or second century AD came to Apollonia, and described the region as ‘rich in sheep’; the young architect who came or returned to Phrygia and died there, to be commemorated at Appia in a dozen hexameters.⁶⁶ The first two both grace their adopted home with flattering epithets. Stay-at-home peasants had smaller concerns, mundane and practical, as Upper Tembris valley grave monuments suggest, with their vines and pruning hooks, yoked oxen,⁶⁷ spindles and combs, and the chest of tools that might figure in a man’s will.⁶⁸ According to Nicolaus of Damascus the Phrygians condemn to death anyone who kills a plough-ox or steals an implement (he does not say when this was, but it shows the accepted preoccupation of the people).⁶⁹ Their horizon seems to be the *patris* that is the common word for their village or small town, vague, yet potentially grand.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Macedonian rituals involving the transfer of disputed property to a deity: Chaniotis 2009: 129–30. See also 146 with n. 165, cautious on the explanation.

⁶² Phonetics, and Phrygian as ‘one of the first Modern Greek dialects’: Brixhe 2002c: 262–6.

⁶³ ‘Φρύξ’: MAMA V 242 (Nakoleia); otherwise it is found on sixth-century BC Corinthian vases (LGPNI IIIa). ‘Φρυγία’ is listed in LGPN, once in fourth-century BC Macedonia (SEG 50, 573), once at Tanagra (a slave?) (IG vii 1488), and at Chios; only at Pompeii does the name occur later than the third century BC.

⁶⁴ Orkistos: MAMA VII 305, II 26–7 (‘*in medio confinio Galatiae Phrygiae*’). Cf. MAMA IV 63 (Synnada praises a just *procurator* of Phrygia, first half of third century); MAMA X 114, line 8 (τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν τόπων: the Aragueñi).

⁶⁵ Plin. HN 7.202 claims that the pair in hand was a Phrygian invention.

⁶⁶ Hellenistic immigrant: MAMA X 220; Debborah: MAMA IV 202; architect: MAMA X 137. Cf. the silence of the woman from Crete who married a man of Phrygia Epiktetos, Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 35–6, no. 251.

⁶⁷ Prayers for oxen: Waelkens 1977: 305–6, n. 100.

⁶⁸ Chest and tools, along with grain and a sheep, in Anderson 1906: 212–13, no. 10 (discussed by Thonemann, Chapter 6 below). For the iconography of rural Phrygian funerary reliefs, see further Masségia, Chapter 5 below.

⁶⁹ Phrygian penalties: Nic. Dam. FGrH 90F103 = Stob. Flor. 4.2.25, cited by Lacroix 1982: 38–9.

⁷⁰ Πατρίς: above, n. 58; Petrie 1906: 119–20, no. 1 (MAMA X 77: Altıntaş); 124, no. 6 (plural, from Zemme); 127–8, no. 9 (‘Βεννευεκή’, south of Tomb of Midas); πάτερη, Buckler, Calder and Cox 1927: no. 230 (Kurt Köy), D6 and D21; MAMA X 169 (Akça Köy) b17.

One cannot help wondering too what Phrygians of the Empire thought about their well-established reputation. Few might ever encounter it in literature. Literacy was something admired, to judge by the occasional claim of the inhabitant of a grave to have written his epitaph himself,⁷¹ and by the writing tablets and styluses of the doorstones.⁷² But the direct literary references and quotations, tags and allusions that gravestones offer come from Homer, the primary educational text, and from Greek proverbs,⁷³ not from derogatory later writers, still less from Vergil. Only members of the Roman elite, notably knights and senators, would have enjoyed a Roman education, and the few known senators from Phrygia could mostly boast non-Phrygian antecedents.⁷⁴ We may wonder what stereotypes of their own Phrygians cherished or shared with other parts of the Greek-speaking world, such as the notion that the neighbouring Galatians were silly, ἡλίθιοι, like M. Sedatius Severus, the general destroyed by the Parthians in AD 161.⁷⁵ But if they did not meet their own stereotype in literature they probably became aware of it from the behaviour of strangers and officials. The question is important because encountering a stereotype could have encouraged stereotypical behaviour.

Dio of Prusa characterizes Phrygians as living in a remote district and in slavery (δουλεύοντας).⁷⁶ Yet we hear of no peasant revolts, but meet a 'peuple sans histoire'⁷⁷ who exhibit only a degree of banditry and selling off of fellow-countrymen.⁷⁸ Peasants on Imperial estates might complain

⁷¹ Epitaphs composed by deceased: Gibson 1978: 70, no. 27.

⁷² Styluses: Mitchell 1993: I 105, nn. 433–6; but perhaps these tablets celebrate the numeracy and accounting talents of the deceased. Cf. Masségli, Chapter 5 below.

⁷³ For the forged memoirs of 'Dares the Phrygian' see Champlin 1981: 19. This priest of Hephaistos was alleged to have written an account of the fall of Troy (extant according to Ael. VH 11.2), according to its preface translated by Cornelius Nepos and addressed to Sallustius Crispus (*Hist. de excidio Troiae*, ed. Meister 1873); it cannot be taken further back than the fifth century AD. Greek proverb: Petrie 1906: 123, no. 5. Full verse inscriptions come from higher ranks in society, as that of Domnos of Kotiaion (Mitchell 1993: II 104, citing Buckler, Calder and Cox 1925: 142–4, no. 125), leader of the Council and of the whole city, friend of the destitute.

⁷⁴ Senators from Phrygia: Halfmann 1979: 68–9, with 199–200, nos. 132–3; Claudii Apollinaris and Stratonikos of Aizanoi. Under Augustus, Menophilos of Aizanoi, who as high priest of Asia presided over the introduction of the new calendar, was exceptional: Ehrenberg and Jones 1976: no. 98, with Campanile 1997: 223, for the cult and the equestrian family of the Aelii of Hierapolis.

⁷⁵ Sedatius the silly Gaul: Lucian *Alex.* 27; cf. Callim. *Hymn to Delos* (4) 184. The two nations are bracketed by Greg. Naz. *Or.* 12.22.

⁷⁶ Phrygians in slavery: Dio Chrys. 31.113.

⁷⁷ 'Peuple sans histoire': Gnoli and Thornton 1997: 167; see further Thonemann, Chapter 1 above, and Brixhe, Chapter 3 below.

⁷⁸ Kidnapping: Paus. 5.21.10–11; selling off Phrygian children: Philostr. VA 8.7.12; cf. *BGU* 3.887 (Alexandria, AD 151, a little girl of Phrygian birth).

to the emperor or local officials, and threaten if they were not satisfied to look for employment in the private sector.⁷⁹ Reasons for quietism lie not only in the society's nucleated structure but in the lack of military tradition in a long-subject region, that contrasted with the Pisidian Highlands with their armed rider gods.⁸⁰ When called upon to supply soldiers, as they were by the Romans in 89 BC, they produced only ἀνδράποδα, chattels, ready to flee.⁸¹ Again, they were vulnerable to intimidation: crops burnt, vines cut down, beasts driven off. Alienation, from surrounding areas or from superior authority, may have produced a sense of moral superiority that betrays and may be intended to counter, in a passive-aggressive way, the low esteem in which Phrygians were held.

Perhaps significantly, it was when four orthodox priests were sent from Constantinople in the mid-fifth century to take over the vacant see of Kotiaeon that we hear of a case of violence: the intruders were killed.⁸² If it is not too much to draw such a conclusion,⁸³ cults were a refuge, and heresies too – not that heresies were just parochial or lower class. Tertullian was a Montanist, and an epitaph of a fourth-century Novatian priest recalls his widespread fame, in Phrygia, Asia and Anatolia, his prosperity, wealth, nobility and stout heart. But the perspective is relative. He was 'pre-eminent above all in the village'.⁸⁴

In the long subjugation, religiosity served to differentiate Phrygians. That is the quality that West associates with the Phrygian mode and which is attested by Lucian and Apuleius.⁸⁵ According to Justin it was Midas himself who filled the Phrygians with protective *religiones*.⁸⁶ It seems strange that religiosity was apparently manifested in two related but distinguishable ways. On one hand was the ecstatic ceremonial of the Kybele cult, at great shrines staffed by thousands, whose priests were rulers to be negotiated with by Romans.⁸⁷ On the other were the subdued devotions of the villages, brought out so well by Mitchell and in a darker sense by

⁷⁹ So said the inhabitants of Ağa Bey Köy: Abbott and Johnson 1926: no. 142.

⁸⁰ Contrasting deities in Phrygia and south and south-west Anatolia: Mitchell 1993: II 26.

⁸¹ Phrygian and Galatian levies in 89 BC: App. *Mithr.* 11–19; ἀνδράποδα: App. *BCiv.* 2.74. 308.

⁸² Murder of priests: Malalas 362.16.

⁸³ Warnings against drawing political conclusions from cultural differences: Millar 1971; but cf. Gnoli and Thornton 1997: 192.

⁸⁴ Eugenius the Novatian priest from near Laodikeia Katakekaumene: Calder 1923b: 76, no. 4. Other evidence of cultural and religious pretensions: Mitchell 1993: II 45–6.

⁸⁵ Religiosity of Phrygian mode: West 1992: 181, with n. 78, citing Ar. *Thesm.* 121, Lucian, *Harmonides* 1, and Apul. *Flor.* 4 ('*seu Lydium querulum seu Phrygium religiosum seu Dorium bellicosum*').

⁸⁶ Midas and Phrygian *religiones*, '*quibus tutor . . . quam armis fuit*': Just. *Epit.* 11.7.14.

⁸⁷ Battakos of Pessinous negotiating with Vulso: Polyb. 21.37.5–7, with Walbank *ad loc.* Even at Rome the potent cult was allowed only to Phrygian priests: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.3–5.

Gnoli and Thornton,⁸⁸ when they call to mind the appeal of the Alianoi to Hosios kai Dikaios to ‘save the settlement’.⁸⁹ Below and beyond the village level were men’s *hetairiai*, such as the Tekmoreian Guest-friends, which gave ceremonial, feasting, and excitement to devotees who could afford the subscription.⁹⁰ Festivities that got beyond the control of the local *komarch* could be repressed by a *paraphylax* and his *diōgmitai*.⁹¹ A closer look at the gulf between the two extremes suggests how it may be bridged.

First was the rich and variegated soil in which forms of Phrygian religious belief and practice could flourish. Second, there are elements in common between great shrines such as that at Pessinous and lesser centres like the cave of the Steunene Mother at Aizanoi, in which she gave birth to the male deity, the Zeus of Aizanoi. And from Aizanoi it is a small step down to more modest village deities. Then there was development through time, sometimes fuelled by community rivalry, that could take a small-town deity to international status: this can be seen at Aizanoi, where the main focus of the cult moved from the cave to the temple, with a processional route between.

The role of priests was also as important in village communities as in the great shrines. Intermediaries between ordinary farmers and divine and secular powers came as priests, prophets and angels (who may have arrived under Jewish influence).⁹² The prophet Montanos was said to have moved sideways to Christianity from the priesthood of Kybele. Orthodox or heretical, the bishops who took the place of the priests were equally dominant in their sees.

Perhaps most important, the sensational aspects of the cult of Kybele can be considered in relation to other cults, in which flamboyant ecstasy is replaced by publicized repentance. One need think only of the cult of Hosios and Dikaios, of Dikaiosyne at Prymnessos,⁹³ and of the so-called ‘confession inscriptions’,⁹⁴ many of which avowed offences against fellow

⁸⁸ Village religiosity: Mitchell 1993: II 11–30; Gnoli and Thornton 1997: 157–8, noting the observation in *MAMA* V, xix, that in Dorylaian villages grave monuments did not outnumber dedications, and the frequency of prayers on behalf of cattle or crops, with appeals to Hosios kai Dikaios or Zeus Kalokagathios (e.g. *MAMA* VII 303 (Orkistos)); Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1956. Quietude of Phrygians: Körte 1897: 390, followed by Robert 1987: 256, n. 18, and Robert, *OMS* VII 555, n. 16.

⁸⁹ Gnoli and Thornton 1997: 191 with n. 208.

⁹⁰ Religious associations: Robert, *OMS* VII 553–4.

⁹¹ Local law enforcement: *OGIS* 527 (Abbott and Johnson 1926: 443, no. 117: Hierapolis); see further Kantor, Chapter 7 below.

⁹² Angels and other intermediaries: see Mitchell 1993: II 46.

⁹³ Dikaiosyne at Prymnessos, with her scale on the coinage: Mitchell 1993: II 18 and 26.

⁹⁴ The term ‘confession inscriptions’ is criticized by Chaniotis 2009: 118.

villagers, acknowledged their detection and promised amends to the deity and the victim. The offender might already have suffered punishment before the confession was made. With the Great Mother of Pessinous there was one paradigmatic offence and one punishment.⁹⁵ But the participant initiated in her rites was 'pure in life' and was 'preserving the righteous orgies of the Great Mother', in Euripides' words.⁹⁶

Seen in another way, the devotee, to achieve a satisfactory relationship with his deity, had to make a sacrifice, one metaphorically paralleled in Phrygian heretical sects. In early to mid fourth-century Laodikeia we have a 'πρεσβύτερος εὐνοῦκος' (*sic*), and from Appia a 'τίμιος εὐνοῦχος', Heortasios.⁹⁷ The price for intimacy with the Mother was beyond anything that a man might suffer for stealing a fellow-bather's bath-robe or the like, though one unfortunate called Theodoros was blinded by Men for his fornication.⁹⁸ But the 'confession inscriptions' also mention more often offences against the gods, perjury or impurity. In both types of cult there was guilt and punishment; in the 'confession' situation too the publicly performed rituals were, in Chaniotis' words, 'emotionally loaded'.⁹⁹ The inscriptions make recognition and invocation of divine *dynameis* supremely important. It reinforces self-regulation in a region where *polis*-institutions were weak.¹⁰⁰ In particular, a Jewish contribution to the make-up of Phrygian religion is plausible, especially in the development of the highest god, Hypsistos,¹⁰¹ making his devotees Hypsistarians and his prophets eloquent.¹⁰²

So when Christianity took hold Phrygia became a fertile field for enthusiastic and ascetic, purifying heresy.¹⁰³ However far Montanism spread, its 'New Jerusalem' was local,¹⁰⁴ with separatist tendencies, ecstatic and

⁹⁵ Crime and punishment: Lucr. 2.614–17. ⁹⁶ Eur. *Bacch.* 72, quoted by Strabo 10.3.13.

⁹⁷ 'Eunuch' priest: Calder 1923b: 90, no. 11; bishop: Cox 1939.

⁹⁸ Chaniotis 2009: 132, citing Herrmann and Malay 2007: 75–6, no. 51 (AD 102, from Hamidiye in Lydia).

⁹⁹ 'Emotionally loaded': Chaniotis 2009: 118.

¹⁰⁰ Paucity of *poleis* and narrow line between them and villages in north-west Phrygia: Mitchell 1993: I 180; Thonemann, Chapter 1 above. For the development of Soa (latter part of third century) and Ipsos (third to fifth century), see Strubbe 1975: 235–9; Waelkens 1977: 285–6.

¹⁰¹ Theos Hypsistos: Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 2032–43, insisting on the agricultural roots of the cult; Mitchell 1993: II 49; use of curse formulae by Jews in Phrygia: Ameling 2004: 357–62, no. 171; 374–5, no. 176 (Akmoneia); cf. 395–8, no. 186 (Hierapolis); Ameling 2009: 207, with 208, n. 8.

¹⁰² Such deities were appropriately served by a man of good birth who belonged to a Hypsistos 'laos' and who used inspired scripture and Homeric verses for his prophetic answers: Haspels 1971: I 313, no. 40.

¹⁰³ Phrygian heresies, especially Encratite, in the last quarter of the fourth century: Epiph. *Adv. Haeres.* §47–9; Thonemann 2011b.

¹⁰⁴ The elusive Pepuza as 'die Wüste': Gnoli and Thornton 1997: 197.

prophetic. It may not have had roots in paganism, but it took a form that fitted the Phrygian experience.¹⁰⁵ Novatianism came from outside, but again was attractive for the superiority of its puritanical conservatism.¹⁰⁶

The villages' social and religious life, like their economic processes, was steady and intense. A society in which the name 'Pansemnion' could take root was very distinctive.¹⁰⁷ Phrygians were governed by autonomous ideas of justice and morality that had little to do with central and regional authorities; they had, as Chaniotis has put it, a face-to-face society.¹⁰⁸ Zeus, Bronton or Ampelios, Thunderer or deity of the vineyard, and the Mother Goddess sprang from the climate and the terrain and its cultivation. The mental and moral focus accordingly turned inwards, securing at once fruits and social stability. Responsibility and self-control, *sōphrosynē*, were the key. It was a virtue of funerary monuments, a virtue of women, used as a name for women,¹⁰⁹ and it fed back into the *mitis mos* stereotypically favoured by the Phrygians.

¹⁰⁵ Montanist roots in paganism: Schepelern 1929: 88–91 (with earlier scholars); *contra*, Strobel 1980: 222–30 (*non vidi*), cited by Mitchell 1993: II 40, who holds that the wide spread of the heresy and its persistence suggest that it had few roots in paganism; the move of its sculptural workshop eastwards to Akmoneia in the mid-third century would be an indication of persecution. The identification of this workshop as Montanist is however questioned by Mitchell, Chapter 8 below.

¹⁰⁶ Puritanical Novatianism: Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 4.28; the last bishop he knew, Marcion, migrated to Rome from Tiberiopolis in 458.

¹⁰⁷ MAMA I 280 (Laodikeia, c. AD 400); not in LGPN.

¹⁰⁸ Face to face society: Chaniotis 2009: 123; cf. also the treatment of Phrygian society in Mitchell 1993 *passim*; Thonemann, Chapter 1 above. Justice valued: Gibson 1978: 80, no. 29, lines 16–17.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. the σωφροσύνη of his wife Tatia commemorated at Appia by Timotheos, MAMA X 76; and of Theodora, Petrie 1906: 119–20, no. 1 (MAMA X 77). The name Sophrosyne/a: see LGPN s.v.

3 | The personal onomastics of Roman Phrygia*

CLAUDE BRIXHE

1. The Phrygians in Asia Minor: archaic and classical periods

It would evidently be absurd to hope to analyse the personal onomastics of Roman Phrygia without evoking, at least briefly, what we know of the origins and migrations of the Phrygians.

The linguistic data currently available to us appear to show that, in the prehistoric period, the Phrygians belonged to a single population-group out of which ultimately emerged the Greek, Thracian and Phrygian languages.¹

If we can judge from the titlature of Midas in the Paleo-Phrygian inscription M-01a, which combines the titles of *wanax* and *lawagetes*, the ethnic grouping concerned was already sharply socially stratified at a very early date. Only the hellenocentrism current in our studies can give any credit to the notion that we might be dealing here with a borrowing from the Greeks (the common opinion). Such a hypothesis does not stand up to serious historical analysis; it is, instead, most likely that we are faced with a heritage common to both Greeks and Phrygians.²

At the end of the second millennium BC, the Phrygians were localized in Thrace and Macedonia, and were in contact with both Thracians and Greeks. During the great upheavals which saw, among other things, the collapse of the Mycenaean world and the dislodging of the Dorians – the result of waves of migrations or conquests, apparently originating far away from the Aegean, which spread gradually in a kind of ‘domino effect’ – the Phrygians began to migrate towards Asia Minor, probably shortly after 1200 BC, leaving isolated groups behind them in Macedonia and Thrace. They settled in Mysia and Bithynia, the future region of Hellespontine Phrygia, where their presence is later marked by a certain number of inscriptions.³

From here, they ascended the valleys of the Sangarios river (the modern Sakarya) and its affluent, the Tembris (Porsuk), making their appearance

* References to Paleo-Phrygian texts in the form ‘M-01’ are to Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, with the supplements Brixhe 2002b and 2004a.

¹ Brixhe 2006a, *passim*; Brixhe 2006b, especially 140–1. ² Brixhe 2002a.

³ Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, Section B; Brixhe 1996, esp. 145–8.

at Şarhöyük (Dorylaion/Eskişehir) and at Gordion (Yassihöyük) at the very beginning of the Iron Age (twelfth to eleventh centuries BC). Specifically, a new style of architecture and ceramics which recalls Balkan types reveals the arrival of a new population at this period, which is very likely to be the Phrygians.⁴

1.1. The fact that this arrival does not correspond to a destruction layer at any point in the excavations may indicate a slow infiltration, a progressive mingling with the old population, before an eventual Phrygian seizure of power.

Following a pattern well known to anthropologists and economists,⁵ the exploitation of the rich possibilities offered for agriculture and pastoralism by the valleys of the Sangarios and Tembris and certain adjacent regions⁶ set in train – no doubt at a rapid pace – profound social transformations. In particular, a pre-existing hierarchy was accentuated (cf. the ruler's titles mentioned above, § 1, which appear to have been hereditary). This exploitation led to the creation of surpluses, which were of course unevenly distributed. The most fortunate groups (whether as a result of individual skill, the quality and extent of their lands, the size of the human unit concerned . . .) monopolized these surpluses, giving rise to an intense artisanal activity (notably in the field of textiles),⁷ the products of which were intended both for their own use and for export. Foremost among the beneficiaries of this development was the individual sovereign, if we can judge both from the concentration of economic activities in his capital and from the powers which his titlature supposes.

So it was that in the tenth century BC, Gordion, seat of a monarch who was at one and the same time *wanax* and *lawagetas*, emerged as the economic and political capital of a kingdom destined to dominate Anatolia for two long centuries. The archaeological finds and the large number of tumuli in the region provide a perfect illustration of the opulence of the Phrygian elites.

It was of course the administration of this complex economic system which led in this region to the appearance of the alphabet, at least as early as its appearance in the Greek world: the earliest evidence dates from around 800 BC.⁸

1.2. From the Sangarios basin, the Phrygians set out on the conquest of the Anatolian plateau and the neighbouring regions, which they dominated

⁴ Cf. Sams 1994: 19–22; Voigt and Henrickson 2000: 42–3 and 46; Voigt 2002: 192; Voigt 2005: 28.

⁵ E.g. Godelier 1984 [2010]: 217. ⁶ Cf. Gürsan-Salzmann 2005: 188–9.

⁷ Cf. Sams 2005: 17; Burke 2005.

⁸ Brixhe 2004b. At the end of the fourth millennium BC, an identical process led to the invention of writing in Mesopotamia and in the Nile valley.

down to the end of the eighth century BC. They have left behind them a large number of written documents in epichoric script (dating from the end of the ninth century to the Macedonian conquest), dispersed across a vast expanse of territory.⁹ To be sure, not all the find-spots necessarily correspond to zones of Phrygian settlement. All the same, we find Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions, albeit unevenly distributed, spread across a vast space delimited by Daskyleion,¹⁰ Boğazköy, Tyana and Elmalı.

What happened to this kingdom after the collapse of Gordion? Did it splinter into diverse smaller principalities? Was Kerkenes the centre of one of them?¹¹ In any case, a part of the epigraphical documentation mentioned above certainly dates to the periods of the Lydian and Persian hegemonies in Asia Minor.

1.3. Having originally set out from a region (Macedonia and Thrace) where they enjoyed intense contacts with the Greeks and the Thracians, the Phrygians continued to have direct relations with these two peoples: with the Thracians, who either preceded, accompanied or followed them in their crossing to Asia Minor (Mysia and Bithynia), and with the Greeks of the Troad (the Aeolians) and, above all, of the colonies (largely Ionian in origin) strung along the shores of the sea of Marmara and the Black Sea. Moreover, at the time of their expansion into central Anatolia, the area of Phrygian settlement came to overlap with Hittite-speaking and Luwian-speaking populations. What then was the character of Phrygian onomastics at this period?¹²

1.4. The division and classification of words in the Paleo-Phrygian documents is not always obvious. But we can identify with absolute or relative certainty around sixty personal names.

A little less than half of these seem to go back to the old Phrygian stock of names. A few of these are compounds such as *Benagonos* (G-116) and perhaps *Si↑idos* (G-105).¹³

Most often, we are faced with a suffixed radical, cf. *Saragis* (B-108), *Urgis* (Brixhe and Summers 2006), *Aladis* (G-109), *Daguvas* (G-293), *Voines/Voine* (G-129, G-228, G-286), *Manes/Mane* (B-07, Dd-103), *Manis* (B-07). On occasion we are evidently dealing with the suffix *-yos/-ya* : *Agipeia* (G-135), *Agineia* (G-276), *Imeneia* (G-183), *Lagineios* (G-110), *Voineios* (G-145).

⁹ Cf. Brixhe 2002c: 247–8, updated in Brixhe 2004b: 272–3, with map.

¹⁰ A text which is almost certainly written in Paleo-Phrygian has recently been discovered still further to the west, in the vicinity of Parion (Brixhe and Keleş 2011).

¹¹ Brixhe and Summers 2006. ¹² See already Brixhe 1983: 127; Brixhe 1993: 339.

¹³ See also Brixhe 2004a: 115–16, HP 110; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009.

In one instance, we meet with a common noun employed unchanged as a personal name: *Iman* (G-210 etc.; see further below, § 4.1.1).

When we take account of the geographical space concerned, it is natural that the Phrygian onomastic stock should include Anatolian names (more than 10 per cent of the total): *Kuliyas* (?G-101 and G-127),¹⁴ *Muksos* (Liebhart and Brixhe 2009), *Masas* (Brixhe and Summers 2006), *Mamutas* (G-229), *Tuvatis* or *Guvatis* (G-133), *Vasus* (?P-02, P-03, P-05). *Midas*, used as a dynastic name (M-01a, M-01d?, probably T-02b), but also carried by more modest individuals (G-137), may also belong to this group: did not an Anatolian prince of the fifteenth–fourteenth centuries BC, an enemy of the Hittites, carry the name *Mita*?¹⁵

But the subject populations of Anatolia seem to have had more significant influence on Paleo-Phrygian anthroponymy in a different sphere. The so-called *Lallnamen* are almost as numerous as the authentic Phrygian names: cf. *Ata(s)*, *Atatas*, *Ates*, *Nana*, *Nina*, *Aba*, etc.¹⁶ Here we are certainly dealing with a universal name-type, but one for which the Anatolians always had a particular predilection.

We may indicate, finally, those names which appear to have been peculiar to Paphlagonia: cf. *Otu* (P-04 and T-03), which corresponds to the name of the last independent dynast of Paphlagonia; and *Tiveia* (G-183a), if ‘ν’ here corresponds to the β of the name Τιβίος/Τιβείος, epigraphically attested in the Roman period in Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Phrygia itself.¹⁷ Assuming that the epichoric language of Paphlagonia was Palaic, then these two names could perhaps be added to the Anatolian group discussed above.

The period of Persian domination seems only to have had a very modest impact: only a single name, *Ψυαψαρος*, can be interpreted as reflecting Persian influence.¹⁸ Finally, one can see Greek influence appearing in the name *Kaliya(s)* (= Καλλίας in the Greek part of the document B-05): this inscription comes from western Bithynia, where a Greek population was not far distant.

2. Hellenistic Phrygia

In 334 BC, Alexander the Great arrived at Gordion, destroying the Persian regime and thoroughly opening up inner Anatolia to the Greek *koine*.

¹⁴ Compare, in the second millennium BC, the name *Kulia* in Cappadocia: Laroche 1966: 97, no. 612.

¹⁵ Laroche 1966: 119, no. 808.

¹⁶ See the indices of Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, Brixhe 2002b and Brixhe 2004a.

¹⁷ Zgusta 1964a: § 1556. ¹⁸ See the commentary to G-115.

In 277, Nikomedes I of Bithynia appealed to the Galatians for assistance against Antiochos I. Antiochos defeated them in 275/4, and installed them in the northern part of Phrygia (including the regions of Pessinous and Gordion). Not a single Gaulish text has been discovered in Asia Minor: the Galatian elites seem to have rapidly abandoned their own language in favour of Greek. However, they did partially preserve their old onomastic heritage.

What was the impact of these events on Phrygian anthroponymy? Two indices allow us to provide an answer to the question, albeit – alas – only a very partial one.

2.1. A single long Phrygian epitaph, discovered by Thomas Drew-Bear, can be assigned to the very end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BC (Fig. 1.3, in Chapter 1 above).¹⁹ The text is inscribed in the classical Greek alphabet, indicating that the epichoric script had been abandoned by this point. But, most importantly, what we are able to understand of the text informs us that the man who had this *stele* erected carried the name *Nikostratos* (Greek Νικόστρατος) and that the ‘beneficiary’ (in the dative) carried the name *Kleumachos* (Greek Κλεύμαχος): that is to say, the Phrygian elites adopted Greek names very rapidly. As we saw above (§ 1.4), in regions situated close to the Greek world this evolution had already begun before the Macedonian conquest. In any case, the acculturation of the Phrygian elites certainly seems to have been rapid.

2.2. Do these conclusions also apply to the remainder of the population?

To the best of my knowledge, Gordion is the only site in Phrygia where we have even a trace of Phrygian epigraphy during the Hellenistic period: around sixty documents, most of them graffiti on vases, which can be assigned to a period extending from the second half of the fourth to the second century BC.²⁰ The published edition of these texts is very imperfect, but, such as it is, it confirms the rapid invasion of Greek onomastics. Of thirty recognizable names, twenty are Greek. Strictly Phrygian anthroponymy is no longer represented by more than four forms at most, to which we can add two ‘Lallnamen’. The Galatian presence may perhaps be indicated by two or three names, although these are debatable; they are treated as Celtic by their editor on the basis of their final –iξ.

3. Roman Phrygia

In Phrygia as elsewhere, the Roman conquest had inevitable repercussions on personal onomastics. In the wake of the annexation of the Galatian

¹⁹ Brixhe 2004a: 7–26, W-11.

²⁰ Roller 1987.

kingdom of Amyntas by Augustus and the creation of the vast province of Galatia (25 BC), the district of Phrygia was divided between the provinces of Asia, Bithynia-Pontos and Galatia, as it continued to be throughout the first three centuries AD (the period to which the greater part of our epigraphical evidence pertains).²¹

In truth, to judge from the geographical distribution of the Neo-Phrygian documents (around 120 in number, dating from the end of the first to the middle of the third century AD), the spatial extent of the Phrygian-speaking world had undergone a considerable reduction since the Paleo-Phrygian period. This world was now restricted to a sphere bounded by Eskişehir-Dorylaion, Kütahya-Kotiaion, the lake of Eğridir, Laodikeia Katakekaumene and the northern point of Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü).²² It is this zone which we will be concerned with in what follows, even if elsewhere, in one or other district occupied by the Galatians – at Pessinous, for example – the Phrygians did preserve some sense of their ethnic identity.²³

We are essentially dealing here with a predominantly rural region, with large estates owned by wealthy Greeks (and no doubt some wealthy indigenous families), Roman colonists and, above all, by the emperor. The only real towns which we know of were situated on the periphery of this region, to the north, west and south. The sole Roman colony in the region was Pisidian Antioch.

Can we observe the same ‘koinēfication’ of personal onomastics here as in the rest of Asia Minor?

3.1. In an attempt to answer this question, I have undertaken a number of samples of the evidence, both within the Phrygian-speaking area and on its periphery, including Pessinous.

Galatian zone:

- The region immediately to the west of the northern point of Lake Tatta (*MAMA* VII 311–62);
- Pessinous (*I.Pessinous*).

Phrygia proper:

- To the south of Pessinous, the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petarenos, south-west of Amorion (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldıztüran 1999: nos. 1–387, 487–506, 550–62 and 568–78);
- Kotiaion (*MAMA* X 249–350);
- Appia (*MAMA* X 1–248; Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldıztüran 1999: 388–484, 563–7, 579–606, from the sanctuary of Zeus Ampelites or Thallos);

²¹ Rémy 1986.

²² See the map in Brixhe 1993: 328.

²³ Brixhe 2002c: 251.

- Aizanoi (*MAMA IX*);
- The Phrygian Highlands (Haspels 1971);
- Central and western Phrygia (Drew-Bear and Naour 1990);
- The sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos (*MAMA IV* 265–308; Akıncı Öztürk and Tanriver 2008; Akıncı Öztürk and Tanriver 2009);
- Laodikeia on the Lykos (*I.Laodikeia*);
- Pisidian Antioch (*I.Antioche de Pisidie*);
- Laodikeia Katakekaumene (*MAMA I* 1–285; *MAMA VII* 1–104);
- 64 Graeco-Phrygian bilingual texts (Haas 1966: 114–29; Brixhe 1999: 286, n. 3; Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008).

Even though their geographical distribution is fairly satisfactory, my samples are frequently derived, as will be obvious, from incomplete corpora. My statistics take into account only the number of different names attested, ignoring the number of individuals who carried them. Finally, they ought ideally to have been accompanied by a detailed study of the environment and history of the sites concerned.

My statistics are, therefore, far from beyond reproach. But, such as they are, they are sufficient to shed some light on the general tendencies displayed by the personal onomastics of the Phrygian lands during the Roman Imperial period.

3.1.1. Greek anthroponymy, whose rapid adoption during the Hellenistic period was discussed above (§ 2.2), continues to dominate the scene: in the onomastic stock of any given site or region, it never falls below 50 per cent of the total. Here and there it approaches 75 per cent (at the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, Aizanoi and Kotiaion). In the small communities of the Phrygian Highlands, Greek personal names make up more than 66%. Even in the bilingual documents, which indisputably demonstrate some sense of Phrygian identity, Greek names exceed 55%.

3.1.2. The arrival of the Romans in Asia Minor brought in its wake a strong influx of Latin onomastics: nearly 35 per cent of names at Pisidian Antioch (a Roman colony), more than 30 per cent at Laodikeia on the Lykos (an intensively urbanized region), nearly 30 per cent at Pessinous (this old priestly principality, subsequently the capital of the Tolistoagian Galatians, remained a major market town, serving as a seat for Roman gubernatorial jurisdiction), and more than 25 per cent at Laodikeia Katakekaumene (where several important estates were situated, Imperial properties in particular).

The lowest totals for Roman names appear in the more rural zones: less than 10 per cent in the Phrygian Highlands, a little over 10 per cent on

the votive *stelai* from the sanctuary of Zeus Alsenos near Amorion, around 13 per cent on the bilingual inscriptions produced – I emphasize this once again – by individuals who demonstrably had a strong awareness of their Phrygian ethnicity.

3.1.3. One is struck, by contrast, by the feeble representation of strictly Phrygian onomastics. It appears to have been effectively wiped out altogether in the north-west (Aizanoi, Appia, Kotiaion). Its presence is very weak at Laodikeia on the Lykos (a foundation of Antiochos II, with a strong Greek element in the population), at Pessinous, at Pisidian Antioch, and even in the *stelai* of the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos or in the Phrygian Highlands.

Nonetheless, Phrygian names do attain nearly 9 per cent of the total at Laodikeia Katakekaumene; the highest proportion appears in the bilingual documents (more than 10 per cent).

3.1.4. By contrast, the inhabitants of the region remained relatively loyal to their ‘Lallnamen’, which, to judge from my statistics, often maintained a strong level of representation. If such names appear relatively rarely at Laodikeia on the Lykos, Aizanoi or Pisidian Antioch, they make a good showing at Laodikeia Katakekaumene (more than 9 per cent), in the region west of the northern point of Lake Tatta (nearly 14 per cent), at Appia and in the Phrygian Highlands (more than 15 per cent). In the bilingual documents, they approach 20 per cent.

3.1.5. As we would have expected, the onomastics of the bilingual inscriptions reflects fairly well the sense of cultural identity attested by the use of the Phrygian language: even if, here as elsewhere, Greek names are largely dominant, we do find relatively few Latin names. But strictly Phrygian names also continue to make a strong showing here, and, above all, the ‘Lallnamen’ show an impressive survival-rate. In this respect, the Phrygians remained faithful to their past traditions: this judgement will be nuanced in the conclusion.

3.1.6. As one would expect, the geographical situation and complex history of Anatolia led to the influx of several further groups of names to Phrygia.

The period of Persian domination, as one would expect, left a few Persian anthroponyms here and there: Μίθρης (Laodikeia on the Lykos, Aizanoi), Μίθραδάτης, Ῥατοφάτης/Ῥατουφάτης (Laodikeia Katakekaumene).

The sporadic presence of Semitic names is owed to the small and scattered Jewish communities of the region: Βαμβαηλος (Laodikeia on the Lykos), Μιχαηλ (Appia), Μιχαηλης, Μιχαϊλιος (Phrygian Highlands), Σουσανα (Laodikeia Katakekaumene), Μαθιας (Appia, Aizanoi) . . .

The struggles of the Hellenistic armies brought with them a few Thracian anthroponyms, such as Βουζης, Μουκασιος (Phrygian Highlands) or Αυλουζελμης (Pisidian Antioch).

Evidently, the arrival of the Galatians on the scene could hardly have failed to leave a trace on the area's onomastics, at least in the north-east of the region, which served as the contact zone between the two peoples: there are five or six Celtic names at Pessinous, Δηιοταρος, Αιοιοριξ, Βρικκων and others. At Sinanlı (near the northern point of Lake Tatta), Δειναρχος and Βωδορις (Celtic) set up a monument for their father (MAMA VII 335). At the same location, an individual very probably from the same family, Μουζος (a Phrygo-Anatolian name), had a funerary monument constructed for himself, for his wife Δειναρχίς (Greek) and for his children, Βωδορις and Ναννα (a 'Lallname'), and he concluded the epitaph with an imprecation in Phrygian:²⁴ an excellent example of onomastic, linguistic and perhaps even ethnic miscegenation.

4. Survivals

In fact, the strictly Phrygian origin of some of the names which I have labelled as such (§ 3.1.3) is far from assured.

At Pessinous, the names Σαγαριος and Σαγαρια derive from the hydronym Σαγγάριος, which is evidently non-Greek in origin;²⁵ but to which population-group ought we to attribute the name of the river?

Ματις/Ματεις appears, as a woman's name, at Aizanoi, Pisidian Antioch, Laodikeia Katakekaumene, but also in Galatia, Kilikia, and (as a man's name) in Karia. The form is perhaps of Anatolian origin.²⁶ In Pisidia, one woman's identity was expressed in the following form: Αὔρηλία Ματεις Ιμενος.²⁷ As her patronym seems to indicate (see below, § 4.1.1), she belonged to a Phrygian family, which may simply have had the feeling that the name ΜΑΤΕΙΣ was neither Greek nor Latin in origin, but belonged to their cultural patrimony.

In fact, names of characteristically Anatolian origin are extremely rare within Phrygian territory. To convince oneself of this, it is sufficient to glance through L. Zgusta's *Anatolische Personennamensippen* (Zgusta 1964b), dedicated to the 'afterlife' of twenty-three of the Hittito-Luwian roots which were most prolific in producing personal names. From *piya*- 'to give',

²⁴ MAMA VII 314 = Haas 1966: no. 34. ²⁵ Tischler 1977b: 128–9 and 165.

²⁶ Cf. Laroche 1966: 117, no. 789, for a man. ²⁷ Zgusta 1964a: § 882/2; cf. Robert 1963: 339.

we find only the name Πιατερος at Laodikeia Katakekaumene.²⁸ The two examples of Τροκονδας (< *Tarhunt*-, chief of the Hittite and Luwian pantheon) given by Zgusta as Phrygian are, in fact, Pisidian.²⁹ As for names echoing *muwa*-, richly represented during the Graeco-Roman period throughout the southern part of Anatolia, in Phrygia proper we find only the single name Κιδραμουης at Tyriaion.³⁰

4.1. The doubts which I have aired above result in part from the fact that, with only a single exception, not one of the names labelled as specifically Phrygian in the Paleo-Phrygian documents reappears in the inventory of Roman-period names whose etymology, but above all whose geographical distribution, might lead us to consider them as being of Phrygian origin.

The absence of this latter class of names in the Paleo-Phrygian period could perhaps be attributed to the limited number of surviving documents – that is to say, to chance – but the converse is hardly conceivable. Roman Phrygia has, after all, produced thousands of inscriptions. It is therefore quite possible that, during the interval between the two periods, at least part of the authentically Phrygian onomastic stock had simply disappeared altogether.

It may be useful to present a rapid sample of the most characteristic survivals.

4.1.1. The single, exceptional ‘relic’ of the earlier period which I alluded to above is the name Ιμav.

This name was originally a common noun, which still appeared as such in Paleo-Phrygian, belonging to the vocabulary of architecture³¹ or to the religious sphere. According to Orel, it could hence be used to designate a ‘cultic substitute, imitation, image, model’,³² with a connection with the Hittite *himma*-, ‘imitation, substitute (in sacrificial cult)’.³³ In any case, the word was used as an anthroponym from the Paleo-Phrygian period.³⁴

It reappeared in the Roman Imperial period, exclusively as a personal name, in Phrygia (especially eastern Phrygia) and in the neighbouring zones of Pisidia and Isauria.³⁵

As its accusative form *imenan* demonstrates, the original noun was masculine in form:³⁶ we are dealing with a derivative corresponding to the

²⁸ Zgusta 1964b: 100 = Zgusta 1964a: § 1251/1 (if the analysis is correct).

²⁹ Zgusta 1964b: 106. ³⁰ Zgusta 1964b: 167 = Zgusta 1964a: § 603/3: *MAMA* VII 118.

³¹ Brixhe 1974, whence the translations ‘Stein’, ‘Anlage’, ‘Ehrenmal’, in Neumann 1997: 20.

³² Orel 1997: 432–3; cf. Vassileva 1999: 175–7.

³³ Tischler 1977a, s.v. ‘Nachahmung, Substitut (im Opferkult)’. This hypothesis is proposed by Vine 2010.

³⁴ Brixhe 1974; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984 (index). ³⁵ Cf. Zgusta 1964a: § 466.

³⁶ Brixhe 2004a: B-05, lines 1 and 8; dative *inmeney*, the same document, line 11.

Greek forms ποιμήν/ποιμένος or ἄρσην/ἄρσενος (with the suffix *-me:n/-menos* or *-e:n/-enos*). Without making any assumptions about its etymology, I would simply note that the change from **e*: to *a*: in Phrygian entails, in its inflected forms, an alternation both of tone and of quantity: cf. the word for mother, *matar*, but *materan*, *materey*. It is in this way that we should explain the forms already considered: the nominative *iman*, the accusative *imenan*, the dative *i(n)meney*, and the derived female anthroponym *Imeneia* (G-183b).

The Phrygian inflection persists in Greek texts of the Roman Imperial period, with the graphic variation *l*/*El* for the initial letter: nominative *λυαν*, genitive *λυενος*, dative *λυενι*.³⁷ As a result of this inflection, it is undoubtedly the single Phrygian anthroponym which has been worst treated by those who have encountered it, from the *λυενος* which appears in the index of Robert's *Noms indigènes* (where all the entries are in the nominative), to the comment 'for the name *Εἰμενος*, see . . .', which still appears in an article published in 2008.³⁸

Predictably, unfamiliar as it would have been for a Greek-speaker, the name was subjected to various reshapings at the time of its integration into Greek: we see the extension both of the vocalism *a* (dative *λυανη* = *λυανι* = *λυενι*, in central Phrygia) and of the vocalism *e* (nominative *λυεν* for *λυαν*, in Pisidia); thematization, whence the genitive *λυενου* (Lykaonia); substitution of *-ας* for *-αν*, whence *λυας*, genitive *Ειμα* (Phrygia), etc.³⁹

4.1.2. Although not attested in the earlier period, three further names ought to be signalled here, since they certainly emerged out of the linguistic and cultural prehistory of the population: *Ουαναξος*, *Ουαναξων* and *Ουαναξιων*.⁴⁰ We find them in central Phrygia along an axis which runs roughly from Amorion to Philomelion. These names are most naturally derived from the radical **wanakt-* extended by *s*. Starting from the term *vanaktei* in the titlature of Midas (M-01a), from the compound *mod-rovanak* (M-04: a title, or the name of an office?) and from the Neo-Phrygian epitaph *MAMA I 413* (Haas 1966: no. 88), I have shown that, contrary to the common opinion, this theme cannot correspond to a borrowing from Greek, but that it is instead autochthonous, representing an inheritance common to both Greeks and Phrygians.⁴¹ The Neo-Phrygian text invokes a deity designated by the words *ουανακταν ουρανιον* (accusative), probably the god Men. The three names presented here are therefore theophoric names deriving from a divine *epiklesis*. They seem to reflect the existence of

³⁷ Zgusta 1964a: § 466. ³⁸ Robert 1963, 556; *BE* 2010, 550. ³⁹ See Zgusta 1964a: § 466.

⁴⁰ Zgusta 1964a: § 1138/1–3. ⁴¹ Brixhe 2002a; *contra*, notably, Zgusta 1964a: § 1138/1–3.

a theme extended with a sibilant, comparable to that which we observe in Greek, e.g. in the name (F)αναξιων.

4.1.3. Zgusta cites two examples from central Phrygia of another theophoric name: ΒΕΝΝΙΟΣ, with the variant ΒΕΝΙΟΣ.⁴² The name is furnished by an epithet of Zeus, derived from a Phrygian term, the sense of which escapes us: τὸ βεννος (whence the derivatives οἱ βεννεῖται, ‘the devotees of Zeus Bennios’, βεννάρχης and βεννεύειν). On this cult, situated in the north-west of Phrygia (above all in the valleys of the upper Tembris and the upper Rhyndakos), one may consult the excellent dossier of Drew-Bear and Naour, who remark that βεννος/ΒΕΝΝΙΟΣ evokes the radical which appears in the Paleo-Phrygian anthroponym *Benagonos* (above, § 1.4).⁴³

4.1.4. In his *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Zgusta collected together a group of forms which seemed to him to reflect a single woman’s name: 1. ΠΡΙΒΙΣ 2. ΠΡΕΙΒΙΣ 3. ΠΡΕΙΟΥΕΙΣ 4. ΠΡΕΙΟΥΙΣ 5. ΠΡΕΙΙΣ 6. ΠΡΕΙΕΙΣ 7. ΠΡΙΕΙΣ 8. ΠΡΙΕΙΥΣ.⁴⁴

- With the exception of MAMA VII 262 (from central Phrygia), this group derives in its entirety from eastern Phrygia.
- Only the example furnished by MAMA I 241 (ΠΡΕΙΕΙΣ, Laodikeia Katakekaumene) may perhaps derive from a Neo-Phrygian context (thus Zgusta), but given the manner in which the monument was published by its editor, its context cannot be determined.
- In SEG 6, 434 (Ikonion, Lykaonia) there appears the sequence ΠΡΙΕΙΣ or ΠΡΙΕΙΕ, which could either be interpreted as a noun (‘wife, spouse’: Fraser, followed by Gusmani) or as an adjective (‘dear’: Haas), to be connected with the Sanskrit *priya*- (‘dear’).⁴⁵

If this last etymology were correct, it could not be applied to the (certainly anthroponymic) forms nos. 1–4, which seem to include a radical *w* (indicated with B or OY).

Be that as it may, given that the Phrygian *w* seems only to have been eliminated in front of a velar vowel (cf. its persistence in ουανακταν, cited above, § 4.1.2),⁴⁶ we ought perhaps to seek two different names in the two groups made up by forms nos. 1–4 and nos. 5–8, of which only the second group might perhaps be connected to the form attested in SEG 6, 434.

4.1.5. I am unable to offer an etymology for another name, which, by dint of its geographical distribution, can also be presumed to be authentically

⁴² Zgusta 1964a: § 161: MAMA VII 273a; MAMA VII 214 = Haas 1966: no. 103.

⁴³ Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1952–91, at 1960, n. 191. ⁴⁴ Zgusta 1964a: § 1305.

⁴⁵ Pokorny 1959: 844 (*priya*-); see, most recently, Brixhe 1999: 287–91. ⁴⁶ Brixhe 1983: 123.

Phrygian in origin. This is the woman's name ΞΕΥΝΑ, along with its variants (in Neo-Phrygian contexts) ΞΕΥΝΗ and ΞΕΥΝΕ.⁴⁷

Drew-Bear and Naour appear to have discovered a masculine counterpart in a dedication to Zeus Bennios from the Upper Tembris valley, set up by a certain Ἀρτεμίδ[ωρος] ΞΕΥΝΑ.⁴⁸ They compare this anthroponym with the epithet of Men ΞΕΥΝΑγονηνός (from the district of Afyon).⁴⁹

This radical was certainly not common, but we do find it both in the north-west (Dorylaion, the Upper Tembris valley) and in the extreme south-east of Phrygia (Laodikeia Katakekaumene), and also at Tyriaion. A single example is found outside Phrygia, in Galatia, where it would pertain to the Phrygian substrate there. Its autochthonous Phrygian origin is, therefore, assured.

4.1.6. Zgusta also collects a small group of forms which, we have no reason to doubt, reflect a single woman's name:⁵⁰

- Αὐρ. ΟΥΕΝΑΥΙΑ Ἀρτέμων[ος] (MAMA I 393: a little way to the east of the City of Midas). Νανας ἢ καὶ ΟΥΕΝΑΥΙΑ (MAMA V 243: Nakoleia). ΟΥΕΝΑΥΙΑ and ΟΥΕΝΑΥΙΣ (MAMA I 234 and MAMA VII 100: Laodikeia Katakekaumene).
- ΟΥΕΝΑΟΥΙΑΣ and ΟΥΕΝΑΟΥΙΣ/ΟΥΕΝΑΟΥΙΗ appear respectively in the Phrygian and Greek parts of a bilingual text from the region north of Amorion.⁵¹

Rare though it is, the name is thus attested in both western and eastern parts of Phrygia.

In 1964, W. Dressler believed that he could isolate here a feminine element –υια or –ουια, which he also recognized in the –*wiya* attested in several women's names during the Hittite period.⁵² In that case, it could be added here to the element *wena-*, which is illustrated by a series of Hittite names such as *Wanni-* or *Ariwana*.

E. Laroche referred to this possible Hittite-Luwian survival in Phrygia in the course of his treatment of the element –*wiya*: noun ('woman') or simple suffix?⁵³ Moreover, he connected the anthroponym *Wanni* to the Luwian *wan(n)i-* (hieroglyphic *wan(a)i-*?) 'block of stone, *stèle*'.⁵⁴

The name certainly has an association with the Phrygian district, and was therefore incorporated into its general onomastic inheritance; but, if

⁴⁷ See Zgusta 1964a: § 1063/1–2; Brixhe and Neumann 1985: 169.

⁴⁸ Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1962–3, no. 13. ⁴⁹ Drew-Bear and Naour 1990: 1963, n. 202.

⁵⁰ Zgusta 1964a: § 1153. ⁵¹ MAMA I 413 = Haas 1966: no. 88 (and see above, § 4.1.2).

⁵² Dressler 1964. ⁵³ Laroche 1966: 325–6, cf. 382 (index). ⁵⁴ Laroche 1966: 340.

Dressler's hypothesis is correct, we would in this instance too be dealing with an Anatolian survival.

5. Conclusion

In the Roman Imperial period, the Phrygians had long been a colonized people. But be that as it may, they had by no means lost the sense of their own ethnic identity as a result, as demonstrated by their struggle for control over the sanctuary of Pessinous.⁵⁵

Their onomastic practices, however, were no more successful at resisting the Graeco-Latin tidal wave than were those of the other peoples of Anatolia. Even if the old Phrygian stock of names was not completely eradicated, its surviving offshoots, however characteristically Phrygian they may have been, gave only the most discreet overall 'colouring' to the region's anthroponymy: the absolute number of names was not large, and those names are in general rarely attested.

It is true that, as I have emphasized elsewhere, we have no way of assessing the behaviour of those at the very bottom of the social hierarchy, who remain from our perspective completely mute, not having received the privilege of a *stèle* with funerary epitaph.⁵⁶

A few small groups probably preserved a strong sense of local identity: some segments of the population used the Phrygian language for their epitaphs or for the protection of their tombs. Were these just isolated small groups? Consider the physical dispersion of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions. In any case, we have seen (§ 3.1.5) that, even if the use of the Phrygian language does go alongside a better survival-rate of ancestral personal names, this 'resistance' is in no way comparable to what we see in the case of the small Pisidian city of Timbriada, where the continued use of the Pisidian language is accompanied by a near-total absence of Greek or Latin names. Certainly, the region of Timbriada cannot have escaped the successive waves of foreign colonization; but, set apart from the main routes of communication, in a region which, as a result of its difficult relief, is not always easy of access and which is generally highly unsuitable for large-scale agricultural exploitation,⁵⁷ the inhabitants of this region were presumably less strongly affected by the turbulent waves of history. Phrygia, by contrast, indubitably underwent far more traumatic experiences. The Sangarios basin, to which

⁵⁵ Brixhe 2002c: 251. ⁵⁶ Brixhe, forthcoming.

⁵⁷ The inscriptions of the Roman period do not seem to indicate the existence of large estates, imperial or otherwise, in this region.

the Phrygian kingdom owed its origins (and which remains one of the bread-baskets of modern Turkey), naturally aroused the cupidity of all the region's conquerors. We know nothing of the behaviour of the Achaemenid monarchs in this region: did they carve the region up into vast estates, invoking their rights over the soil?⁵⁸ There is no need to ask the question for Alexander and his successors, nor, above all, for the Romans, whom we know from numerous pieces of evidence to have behaved as the unquestioned proprietors of their conquered territories. So, for the Roman Imperial period, epigraphy shows us the importance of the great estates in Phrygia, Imperial estates in particular.⁵⁹ To this permanent colonial spoliation, we should also reckon in the amputation of Phrygian territory caused by the coming of the Galatians, not to mention the ravages inflicted, here as throughout almost the whole of Asia Minor, by the wars of the first century BC, with their legacy of destruction and pillage.⁶⁰ These historical vicissitudes, which are probably reflected in the contraction of the Phrygian-speaking region of Anatolia, imply, over a period of six or seven centuries, a whole succession of depopulations, displacements and minglings of populations. These could only have led to the collapse of domestic economies, the break-up of family groups and the fragmentation of communities: circumstances which were eminently conducive to the erasure of certain aspects of the region's traditional culture. A short while later, in the seventh century AD, unlucky Phrygia, along with Galatia, would find herself lying athwart the main path of the Arab invasions.⁶¹

⁵⁸ A question asked by Marek 2010: 211–13 and 223, concerning the entirety of Asia Minor.

⁵⁹ Sartre 1995: 275–89. ⁶⁰ On the hard conditions of this century, see Sartre 1995: 149–50.

⁶¹ Brixhe 1987: 11.

4 | Grave monuments and local identities in Roman Phrygia

UTE KELP

Preliminary remarks

From the archaeologist's perspective, Phrygia in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods is little more than a name attached to the landscape of a remote part of Anatolia. However, this picture changes rapidly in the first and second centuries AD. Several small rural towns grew considerably, new cities emerged and Imperial estates were founded.¹ This process of urbanization led not only to stronger ties between the rural hinterland and the provincial government, but also to an ever-growing amount of archaeological material.

Within the archaeological record, the most numerous and characteristic Roman-period artefacts are stone grave monuments, varying in form, size and quantity throughout the different regions of Phrygia. As private representations, they were used to show the social status, wealth and self-conception of the deceased and their families.² Among the various grave types of the region, those that include so-called 'doorstones' are of particular interest, since they are chiefly limited to Phrygia and have held a prominent place in modern scholarly discourse concerning Phrygian culture and identity in Roman Imperial times. In two major monographs, Marc Waelkens and Tomas Lochman have assembled all the known examples of doorstones (which ought, however, not strictly to be regarded as a grave-type in themselves), and have defined and categorized regional groups, workshops and their style. Nonetheless, the origin, meaning and function of these grave-types with door façades remain very much open questions.³

Modern theoretical frameworks tend to refrain from the equation of (archaeological) culture with distinct ethnic groups. On the contrary, we have to consider the multiple identities which develop as a result of historical transformations in the varied symbolic systems of social groups; that is to say, we need to take up an 'emic' perspective (the perspective of the social 'insider', not the external observer). As a result, our aim ought not to be

¹ Thonemann, Chapter 1 above. ² See further Masségla, Chapter 5 below.

³ Waelkens 1986; Drew-Bear 1991; Lochman 2003; Schörner 2005; Kelp 2008.

to ask how ‘Phrygian’ these doorstones are. Instead, following Sebastian Brather’s advice to concentrate on structural analysis rather than ‘ethnic’ interpretation, the main purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the use of these grave-types in relation to other grave monuments within the societies of Roman Phrygia.⁴ Unfortunately, a quantitative study of different grave-types remains a difficult task, because only a few sites have been thoroughly studied and many of the known monuments still await publication. Another obstacle to producing a typology of Phrygian grave-monuments is that the dates of many monuments are uncertain. Hence I shall restrict myself to a rough subdivision between the early Imperial period (through the first century AD) and the flourishing high Imperial period of the second and third centuries AD.

The social function of grave-types with a door façade

The first consistent group of ‘doorstones’ appears in Aizanoi in western Phrygia in the first century AD. Kai Jes has offered a reconstruction of this type of ‘built doorstone’ (Fig. 4.1), pointing to the similar building technique of Lydian ‘door monuments’ of the late archaic and classical periods (best known from the tumulus of İkiştepe, west of Uşak), a considerable number of which are now known.⁵ I have argued elsewhere that the emergence of these grave monuments with door façade, possibly originally erected at the entrances of tumuli, should be understood as the ‘invented tradition’ of newly emerging elites in recently founded cities, serving to legitimate their status as elites and to prove the ‘nobility’ (εὐγένεια) of their city.⁶ As Michael Wörrle has demonstrated, a door façade of this type formed part of the grave of Asklepiades II Charax, a prominent citizen of Aizanoi who donated the city’s first marble temple (Fig. 4.2).⁷

⁴ Brather 2004: 517–67. See Geertz’s concept of ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973: 3–30), and the theoretical approaches of Barth 1969; S. Jones 1997: 56–105; J. M. Hall 1997: 17–33; Siapakas 2003. The notion of Phrygia as a territory in Roman Asia Minor cannot be reduced to a few ‘core’ regions (as assumed by Lochman 2003: 217), but has to refer to a relational perception of space (Löw 2001: 130–51). This chapter is mainly based on my Ph.D. thesis on the same topic (Kelp, forthcoming) and focuses primarily on the grave monuments and their social context; the second part, on local identities in Roman Phrygia, is confined to the most prominent aspects.

⁵ Jes 1997; Roosevelt 2006. In my opinion, a doorstone in Bursa (Waelkens 1986: 93, no. 219, with pl. 30) might also be added to Type B of this group of Lydian monuments, as comparison with a piece from Sardeis suggests (Roosevelt 2006: 71–3, 77, figs. 18–19).

⁶ Kelp 2008; Kelp, forthcoming. For the concept of the ‘invention of tradition’, see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

⁷ Wörrle 1995: 63–8.

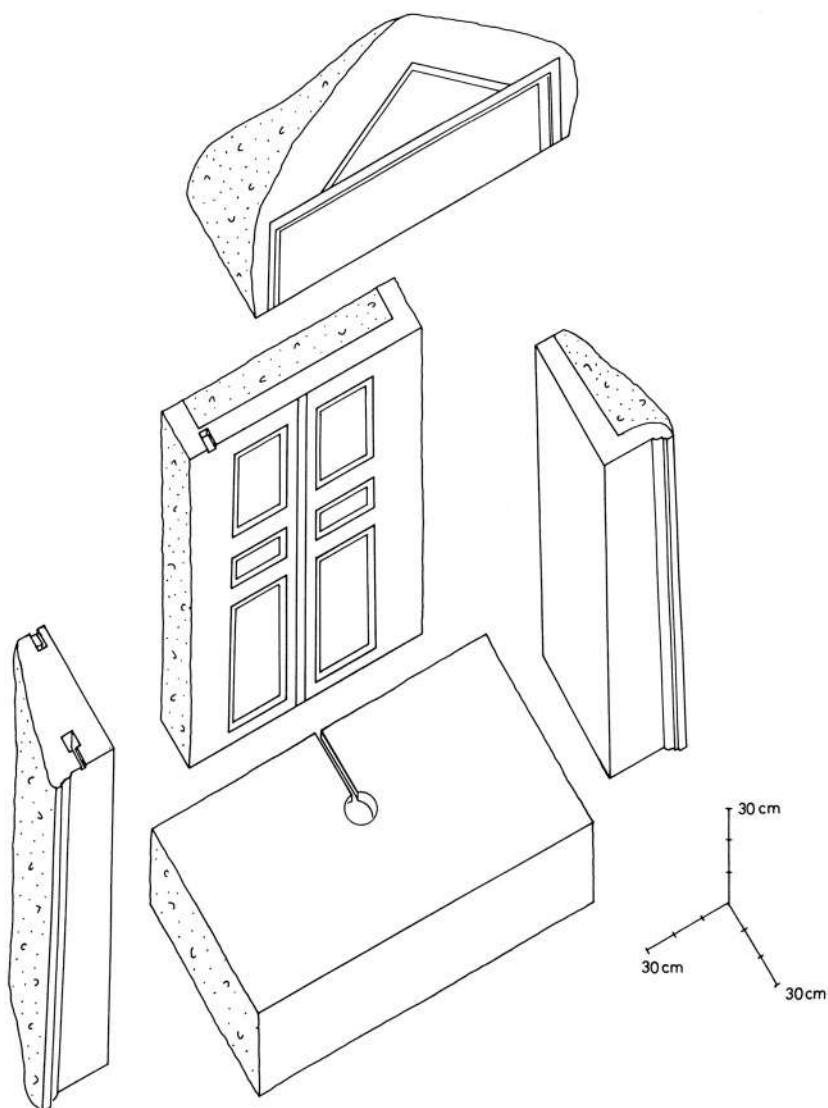


Figure 4.1. Aizanoi. Reconstruction of a 'built' doorstone (after K. Jes).

A door façade from Philomelion has previously been considered as one of only three 'doorstones' of the early Roman period, due to its connection with an inscribed ashlar block dating to the first century BC. Furthermore, this façade has generally been interpreted as a free-standing door monument (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4). The existence of this monument, on the border between northern Pisidia and eastern Phrygia, has therefore been used to support the idea that late Hellenistic Pisidian *ostothecae* (which also featured a false



Figure 4.2. Aizanoi. Pediment of the grave monument of Asklepiades II Charax.

door) might have inspired the development of the Phrygian doorstones.⁸ Yet without further information about the findspot or any other context, the original position of the inscribed block at the base of the door façade seems very awkward; nor, indeed, is there convincing evidence that the inscription even belongs to the same monument at all. Instead, the inscribed block is better interpreted as part of a different, otherwise unknown monumental tomb of the first century BC.

Better parallels for the dimensions and execution of the door and pediment of the Philomelion monument can be found in certain funerary buildings from Hierapolis with a pitched roof, dating to the first and second century AD, indicating that the Philomelion door façade originally formed part of a built tomb of this kind (Fig. 4.5).⁹ In the current state of research, the earliest doorstone monuments of Roman Phrygia ought in my view to

⁸ Waelkens 1986: 262, no. 671, with pl. 85; see also Jes 1997: 249; Lochman 2003: 137, 315 (cat. IV 1; fig. 126). The Italic names in the inscription lack a *cognomen*. For Pisidian *ostothecae* from Sagalassos see Köse 2005: 12, fig. 4; 46–8; 76–7 (dated to the second or first century BC). For the possible origin of the doorstone-type in southern Asia Minor and a discussion of previous hypotheses, see Lochman 2003: 177–81 (dating the Pisidian *ostothecae* to the first century BC and later).

⁹ Equini Schneider 1972: 118–23; D’Andria, Scardozzi and Spanò 2008: 60–1, 80–1 (D. Ronchetta). For a detailed discussion of the isolated early doorstones in Roman Phrygia, see Kelp, forthcoming.

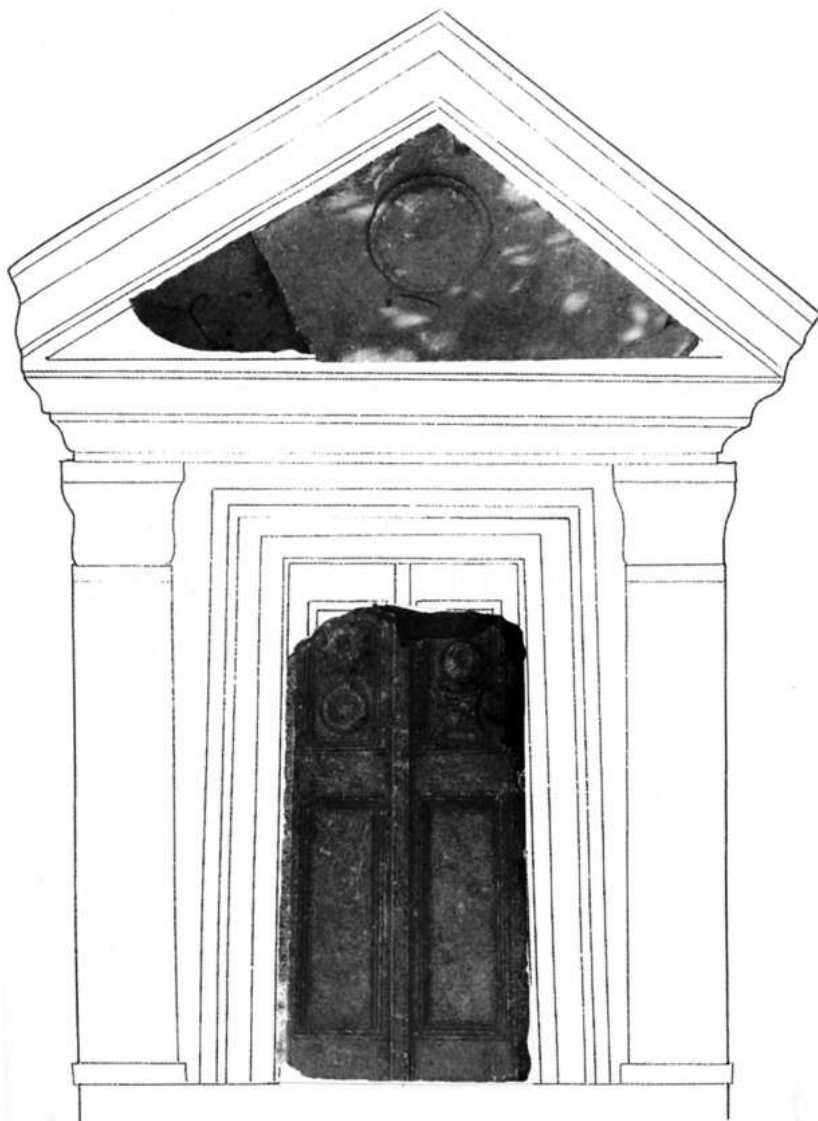


Figure 4.3. Philomelion. Reconstruction of a doorstone façade (after T. Lochman).

be located in the booming town of Aizanoi in the first century AD.¹⁰ The newly prominent feature of a door façade was soon adopted in the adjacent Tembris valley and at Dokimeion, where the presence of the Imperial marble quarries led to its application in various different grave-types.

¹⁰ On early Roman Aizanoi, see Jes 2002; Thonemann, Chapter 1 above.



Figure 4.4. Philomelion. Ashlar block with funerary inscription (Waelkens 1986: no. 671).



Figure 4.5. Hierapolis. Tomb no. A18.



Figure 4.6. Amorion. Remains of a grave (T1073), with pillar of the doorstone façade, *in situ*.

In the first century AD, door façades appear as parts of the ostentatious graves of Phrygian urban elites. In the course of the second century AD, they became much more widespread, eastern Phrygia included, and began to be used in more modest grave-types, primarily grave-*stelai*. The main problem is that most doorstones were subsequently reused, and it is highly exceptional to find one whose original context is known. Only one tomb with a partly surviving door façade remains *in situ*, at the east-Phrygian town of Amorion (Figs. 4.6 and 4.7).¹¹ This tomb is all the more important since a considerable proportion of door monuments from the north-eastern part of Phrygia belong to the same type, as Lochman and Drew-Bear have shown. In monuments of this type, two projecting pillars flank a central doorstone with two or more doors, with two lions reclining on top of the pillars to watch over the doors (Fig. 4.8).¹² In Amorion only the foundations for the

¹¹ The Amorion project generously provided me with a sketch of the ground plan and tomb details; the clearing and reconstruction of the tomb building is part of the research on the *necropolis* conducted by Hüseyin Yaman. For other indications of doorstones' physical context, see Kelp, forthcoming.

¹² Lochman and Drew-Bear 1996.

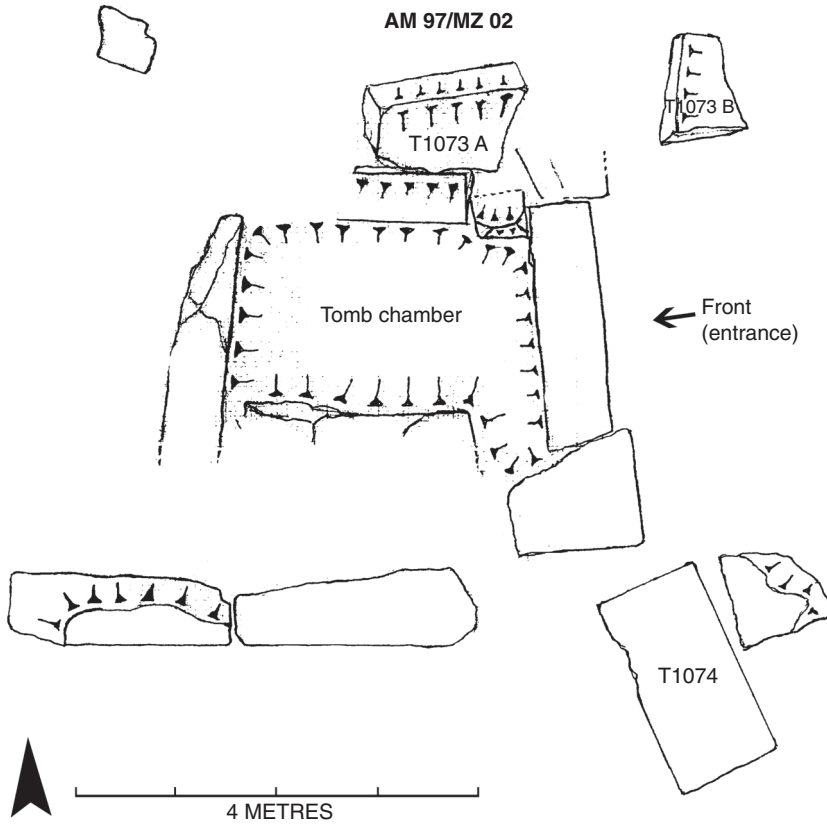


Figure 4.7. Amorion. Sketch plan of grave T1073 (Amorium Excavation Project).

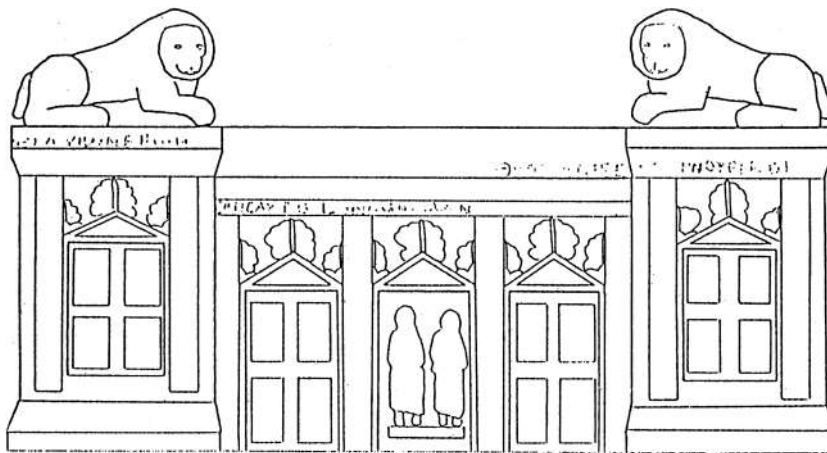


Figure 4.8. Near Bağlıca. Reconstruction of a 'built' door façade (Lochman and Drew-Bear 1996: 116, fig. 4).

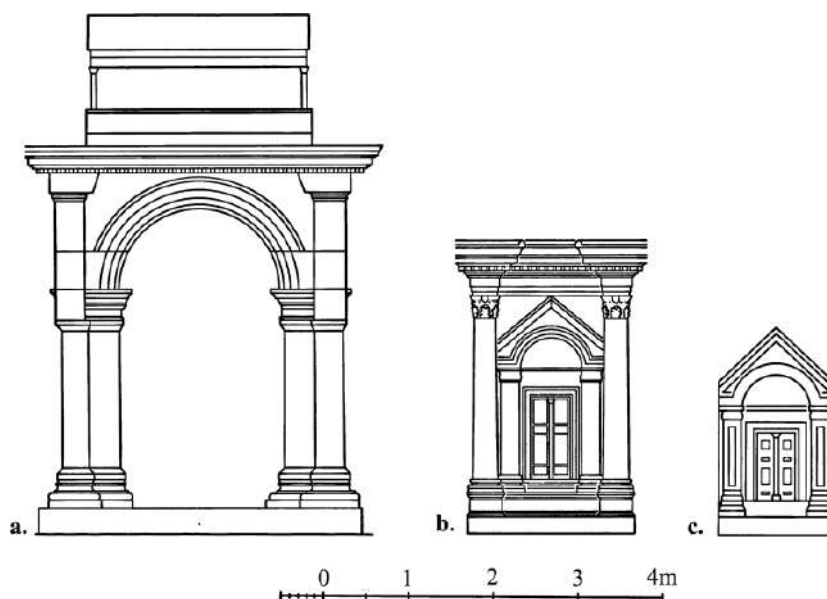


Figure 4.9. Aizanoi. Scale of different grave-types (after K. Jes).

tomb building and the two pillars have survived; each pillar incorporated a false door in relief and a mortise on the upper side.

The use of doorstones reached its peak towards the end of the second and the beginning of the third century AD, when they became the dominant feature of many (including the most typical) of the funerary monuments of eastern Phrygia. Grave-types with a door façade are not evenly distributed across the various different regions of Phrygia: they hardly ever appear in bigger cities like Apameia or Hierapolis-Pamukkale, but are frequently found in smaller towns like Aizanoi, where, in the second century AD (as again Jes has illustrated), only the wealthiest families abandoned the grave-types with a door façade in favour of other, still more ostentatious grave-types similar to those known at Hierapolis (Fig. 4.9). It is noteworthy that these super-elite tombs at Aizanoi contained Asiatic columnar sarcophagi with figurative decoration, produced at the well-known workshops at Dokimeion.¹³

¹³ Jes 2001, esp. 307 (fig. 25). The two tombs are situated in the south-west *necropolis*: see Wulf 1993. For the sarcophagi, see Türktüzün 1993. For the doorstones of Aizanoi, see Waelkens 1986: 46–88; Lochman 2003: 26–51, 241–52. On the Dokimeion workshop, see further Niewöhner, Chapter 10 below.

Although the towns of the Phrygian Highlands (Aizanoi, Akmoneia, Dokimeion and others) were never as well connected to the wider Mediterranean world as, say, the cities of the Maeander and Lykos valleys, the favourable conditions of western and central Phrygia nonetheless led to a faster development of funerary culture and to a closer imitation of Graeco-Roman styles and forms than in the poorer, more isolated regions of eastern (particularly north-eastern) Phrygia.¹⁴ Apart from the social differences between the cities, a general divergence persisted between urban centres and their peripheries. Doorstones from Dokimeion adopt certain features from the Dokimeian sarcophagi, such as the horizontal door lintel, the tectonic form, the friezes of the entablature (e.g. egg and dart, as in Fig. 4.10) and the *contrapposto* pose for standing figures.¹⁵ By contrast, the richly decorated grave-*stelai* from the Upper Tembris valley show the same objects and similar geometric or floral patterns, but their use remains purely ornamental. The designs are executed in shallow relief, and the pediment continues mostly to depict lions as grave guardians (Fig. 4.11).¹⁶ Subsequently, the motif of the false door is gradually abandoned in favour of the figural decoration of the so-called niche-*stelai*, a process which (according to Lochman) was complete by the end of the Severan era in the early third century AD.¹⁷

In spite of all their formal differences, most doorstones of Roman Phrygia carry depictions of various objects from everyday life, symbolizing gender, profession and the status of the deceased, among them items like book-rolls or strigils, alluding to literacy and the world of the *palaestra* – in short, to Greek *paideia*.¹⁸ Again, regional variations have been observed: in more developed cities like Aizanoi or Philomelion these objects are less frequent than in rural areas such as the Tembris valley. Especially with respect to the objects advertising *paideia*, the question of their ‘real-life’ use has been raised: do these monuments really provide an accurate picture of the levels of literacy and ‘urbanized’ lifestyles of the rural population?¹⁹ Yet

¹⁴ On regional differences within Phrygia, cf. Thonemann, Chapter 1 above.

¹⁵ According to Lochman 2003: 111–13, even the form of built tombs was equated to built sarcophagi. For the doorstones of Dokimeion see Waelkens 1986: 187–205; Lochman 2003: 109–25, 293–300.

¹⁶ For doorstones from the Tembris valley, see Waelkens 1986: 88–119; Lochman 2003: 54–81, 255–77, and 129–30, with a comparative description of the style, including figures.

¹⁷ For niche-*stelai* see Lochman 2003: 62, 223. The dimensions and quality of some of these *stelai* are illustrated by an example in the Uşak Museum: Lochman 2003: 102–3, 268 (cat. II 192, pl. 12, fig. 42).

¹⁸ See further Masségli, Chapter 5 below.

¹⁹ Lochman 2003: 190–2. For Strubbe 1997: xvi, and Brixhe 2002c: 254, these graves represent an (upper) middle class.



Figure 4.10. Prynnessos. Doorstone with Greek / Neo-Phrygian inscription (Waelkens 1986: no. 493).

it seems irrational to deny these visual depictions of *paideia* any relation to real life, while accepting the ‘realistic’ representation of professions by the depiction of tools, livestock and so forth. The reliefs on door monuments reveal a world of peasants and craftsmen, but also the self-awareness of citizens – even if the latter may in some regions be more ambition than reality.



Figure 4.11. Upper Tembris valley. Decorated door *stele*.

While in western Phrygia social differences are reflected in a wider range of grave-types, regional styles and qualities, in eastern Phrygia (where the overwhelming bulk of the material dates to the late second and third century AD) we find much more limited variation. As an example of the basic type, we may recall the door façade in Amorion with two protruding pillars (Fig. 4.6, see also Fig. 4.7). In smaller monuments, the pillars sometimes incorporate the lion guardians, or the whole door façade may be monolithic, again with characteristic corner posts. These door façades were certainly attached to stone buildings, as apparently at Amorion, but it is likely that a considerable number were also attached to rubble walls, and they

occasionally even occur on rock graves.²⁰ At Pessinous, the overall picture resembles that at Amorion, but is amplified by one of the few systematic *necropolis*-excavations anywhere in Phrygia. Unfortunately, the doorstones found in these excavations were all reused in late antique cist graves, and so cannot be linked to the Roman-period fossa graves in the same *necropolis*.²¹

Further to the south and south-east, where the history of urbanization goes back to Hellenistic times, doorstones have been found in the rural areas around the Roman colony of Pisidian Antioch and at the little town of Laodikeia Katakekaumene, not far from Ikonion. However, door-monuments seem not to have been used in the cities themselves; in this respect, the cities of southern and south-eastern Phrygia can be compared to the sophisticated urban centres of the Maeander and Lykos valleys.²² The influence of geography on the typology of local funerary monuments can be illustrated by a comparison between the central Phrygian towns of Akmoneia and Sebaste, on the western fringe of the Anatolian plateau, and Eumeneia, lying at the foot of the mountains in the upper Maeander valley.²³ At Akmoneia and Sebaste, with their closer links to the world of the Phrygian Highlands and the plateau, doorstones form a considerable part of the grave culture; at Eumeneia, more closely connected to the Lykos valley and the Aegean lowlands, most gravestones take the form of funerary altars (*bōmoi*) without door-reliefs. Conversely, in Akmoneia a distinctive local form of grave altars with a pine-cone on top developed in the third century AD.²⁴

To complete the regional pattern, an explanation is needed for the scarcity of doorstones in the mountainous highlands of northern Phrygia. Here the geographical conditions were highly suitable for rock-cut graves. Apart from the usual *arcosolium* and pit graves, rock-façade graves of different sizes existed – both more ostentatious grave forms like the lion tomb at Ayazın (Fig. 4.12), and smaller types with decoration largely limited to a

²⁰ Lochman and Drew-Bear 1996. Another example of a door façade in the rock subsequently emerged at Amorion, see Lightfoot and Mergen 1998: 526, fig. 1.

²¹ Devreker, Thoen and Vermeulen 2003.

²² Pisidian Antioch: Waelkens 1986: 271–2; Laodikeia Katakekaumene: Waelkens 1986: 255–8.

²³ On the contrast between the two regions, see Thonemann 2011a: 130–77.

²⁴ For doorstones from Akmoneia see Waelkens 1986: 161–72. For doorstones from Sebaste see Asgari 1981: 29 with n. 64 (fig. 14); Waelkens 1986: 180–2. For funerary *bōmoi* from Eumeneia see e.g. Drew-Bear 1978: 75–103, nos. IV 8–40; *I. Denizli* 142, 145–6, 148–9, 151–7, 163–4, 177; Chiricat, Chapter 9 below, Fig. 9.1. For funerary *bōmoi* with a pine-cone from Akmoneia see Robert, *Hellenica* X, 247–56; Chiricat, Chapter 9 below, Figs. 9.3–4, with discussion; cf. Drew-Bear 1978: 84–7, no. IV 20; Asgari 1981: 29, fig. 37.



Figure 4.12. Ayazin. Rock-cut façade of the so-called Lion's tomb.

few geometrical patterns.²⁵ The rock façades are designed like grave buildings, with an architectonic door-frame as their central element. Apparently the use of these rock *naiskoi*, together with *arcosolium* graves, served to show social status in the same way that doorstones did in the surrounding regions.

In general, the appearance of grave-types with a door façade in a given region marks one of the first steps towards an urban setting and lifestyle. So in western and central Phrygia, doorstones appear as prestigious monuments in Aizanoi, followed by Dokimeion, in the course of the first century AD; the same pattern is followed in eastern Phrygia during the second and

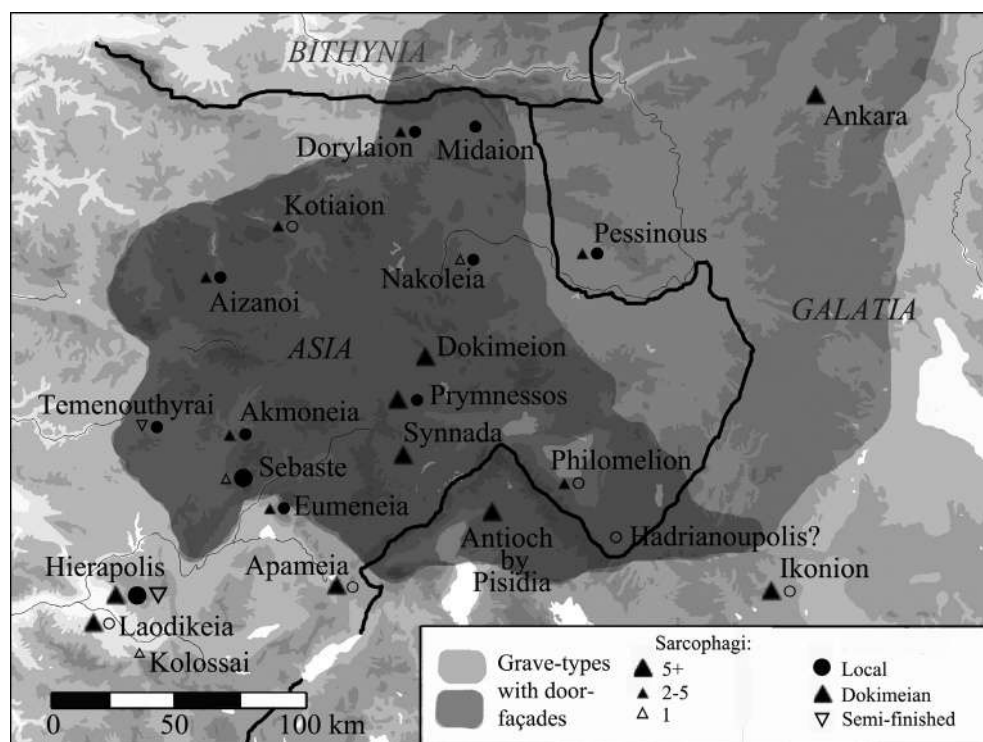
²⁵ Haspels 1971: I 172–83, 187–90, 194; Kortanoğlu 2008: 65–91.

third centuries, in cities like Amorion and Pessinous. During the second and third century AD, grave-types with a door façade become the normal form of funerary monument in many parts of the plateau. At the very point when, in more urbanized regions, the wealthiest families were beginning to reject door-monuments in favour of still more lavish models (as at Aizanoi, in imitation of Hierapolis), doorstones were spreading to eastern Phrygia, where they became markers of social prestige. Furthermore, the second and third centuries saw an intensified production of doorstone monuments, resulting in the diversification of grave-types, as new social groups of modest wealth, mostly in rural regions, assumed the 'doorstone habit'. The development of grave-types with door façade is, in my opinion, strongly connected to the process of urbanization, which began in the more accessible regions of the Maeander and Lykos valleys in Hellenistic times, before proceeding along the main roads up to the high plain and its marble quarries in the early Imperial period. Therefore the doorstones reached their highest density precisely in those more 'backward' upland regions, whereas lowland Phrygian cities like Hierapolis were too far 'ahead' in their urban development to generate these grave monuments at all.

This can be illustrated by a comparison between the diffusion of grave-types with a door façade and sarcophagi in general.²⁶ Although research has largely been focused on high-quality Asiatic sarcophagi, other examples have also been recorded in a fairly systematic manner. Map 3 shows the two distribution areas; although these are clearly distinct, they are not mutually exclusive. There is, however, an especially high density of sarcophagi in regions without doorstones, in particular the Maeander and Lykos valleys. Simpler, plain sarcophagi are erected on top of, in front of and around grave buildings, as best seen in Hierapolis;²⁷ only high-quality 'Asiatic' sarcophagi were generally set up inside those grave buildings. Asiatic sarcophagi are in turn limited to bigger cities, and are consequently very rare in eastern Phrygia. The central Phrygian uplands are a cross-over area, with the production centre of the Asiatic sarcophagi at Dokimeion, and single examples known from Aizanoi and Akmonia. Semi-finished sarcophagi fit into this picture, too, as they are lacking in most parts of the Phrygian uplands, with the exception of its western edge (Temenouthyrai);

²⁶ Based, for doorstones, on the distribution map by Waelkens 1986: pl. 109; for the sarcophagi, mainly on Asgari 1981; Waelkens 1982a; Koch and Sichtermann 1982; Türkütüzün 1993; Fant 1985; Devreker, Thoen and Vermeulen 2003: 119, 123–4, 282 (figs. 39, 53–4, 157); Devreker et al. 2003: 154–6.

²⁷ D'Andria, Scardozzi and Spanò 2008: 55–75.



Map 3. Distribution of sarcophagi and grave types with a door façade in Roman Phrygia.

however, they appear frequently in the cities of the Maeander and Lykos valleys, often as imports from Aphrodisias.²⁸ By contrast, doorstones and locally produced sarcophagi are quite often found side by side in western and central Phrygia. Here we also find a few examples of sarcophagi with a closed door on the narrow side, which can be counted among the repertoire of grave types with door façade.

Analysing the resulting picture of the social functions of grave-types with a door façade, it becomes clear that they occupy a similar position to that held by sarcophagi in the bigger urban centres. On several different levels – local, regional, supra-regional and in comparison to the sarcophagi – the grave-types with a door façade have proved to be the most prominent characteristic of the grave culture of the central and eastern Phrygian uplands. There they not only served to represent the urban elites, but also the middle classes

²⁸ Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 531–3; Koch 1993: 180–1.

who had benefited from large-scale urbanization, and who were the most enthusiastic adopters of the Graeco-Roman civic value-system.

Finally, it is time to turn to the question of identity. The argument pursued thus far supports an interpretation of doorstones as primarily a marker of social identity. I have highlighted the ‘emic’ view of the provincial population, who created these grave monuments to express their status within or ambitions towards urban societies in Roman Phrygia. Against this general background, the specific iconography and local peculiarities of a number of doorstones and other grave monuments indicate that a further awareness of Phrygian origins may also have been a distinctive part of local identity. A significant number of Greek funerary inscriptions from Phrygia include grave curses, intended to protect the tomb from violation (‘whoever harms this grave...’). One feature of these inscriptions – found mainly in the eastern and central parts of Phrygia – has significant wider implications. The curse at the end of these Greek epitaphs occasionally takes the form of a largely standardized formula in Neo-Phrygian (*ios ni semoun knoumanei kakoun addaket etitetikmenos eitou*). Out of 117 known Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, 111 are curses of this type, and roughly one in three of them is written on a doorstone (Fig. 4.10).²⁹ In this context it is worth underlining the results of Claude Brixhe’s work on Phrygian onomastics; Brixhe notes that only a single ‘Paleo-Phrygian’ name (Ἰμᾶν) continues to be documented in inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period.³⁰

The sole iconographic motif on Roman-period doorstones that can at present be regarded as a citation of older monuments appears on a doorstone from the Tembris valley, which carries a bust of Kybele between two lions in the pediment. This motif refers back to Iron Age Phrygian cult façades such as Arslankaya, where two lions appear facing the standing figure of Kybele.³¹ It is important to note that both motifs – funerary curses and Kybele with lions – hint towards a Phrygian self-consciousness in the religious sphere, as they are exclusively found in the context of cult to protect the grave.

²⁹ For the curses, see Strubbe 1997: xv; 17–22, nos. 21–5; 117–208, nos. 156–302; 223–34, nos. 333–52; 269, nos. 394–5; Brixhe 2002c: 249. For the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, see Haas 1966: 113–29; Brixhe 2002c: esp. 248; a revised corpus is in preparation by Claude Brixhe, see Brixhe 1999.

³⁰ Brixhe, Chapter 3 above.

³¹ Lochman 2003: 211, 256 (II 18, pl. 4, fig. 14). For Arslankaya, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006: 49–50, 273–4 no. 16, with bibliography. For a different kind of reference to the past, alluding to the configuration of Archaic rock façades, cf. the Hellenistic tomb of Zahren Deresi in the western Highlands: Kelp 2008: 71.

In conclusion, I would emphasize that provincial monuments such as the so-called Phrygian doorstones, often regarded in ancient literature and modern research as evidence for the backwardness and rural culture of upland Phrygia, may on the contrary have been intended to demonstrate the civic self-conception of their owners; we can instead use them to tell the story of the development of urbanization and civic life in Roman Phrygia.

Local identities in Roman Phrygia

At the beginning of this chapter I insisted that we focus on the question of why doorstones came into existence at all, instead of asking how 'Phrygian' they were. To be able to place the self-consciously 'Phrygian' elements of funerary cult within a more general context, a completely different discourse is necessary, centering around the question of local identities in Roman Phrygia. Within the variety of processual and postprocessual theoretical approaches to culture, it is widely agreed that self-testimonies, being developed vis à vis the Other, are the most significant evidence for ethnic identities. Following Jonathan Hall and others, a common element in the self-definition of all ethnic groups is a shared myth of origin which refers to a specific (if sometimes mythical) region; other characteristics often used for the definition of an ethnic group, such as language, religion, material culture or even biological traits, in fact differ considerably according to the particular historical circumstances.³²

From literary sources we learn of the existence of a history of the Phrygians ('Phrygiaka') written by the sophist Metrophanes from Eukarpeia, presumably in the third century AD; this work is entirely lost, like much of the ample *patria*-literature of Roman times, the majority of which no longer survives.³³ Further indications of a conscious Phrygian identity are found in the pseudo-autonomous civic coinage of the region, in particular at Apameia Kibotos where five coin-types minted in the name of the *koinon* of Phrygia were issued over the course of the first, second and third

³² J. M. Hall 1997: 17–33; S. Jones 1996: 66–76.

³³ Metrophanes, *FGrH* IIIc, no. 796. Eukarpeia was the main city of the so-called Pentapolis in central Phrygia. For *patria*-literature, see Weiss 1984: 189. Other works about the Phrygians derive from Hellenistic Greek authors like Hermogenes and Alexander Polyhistor. According to Jacoby 1940 (esp. 73–91, 131–7), the Phrygian 'Schwindelautoren' and their works in Pseudo-Plutarch's *De fluv.* were pure invention.

centuries AD.³⁴ On coins of Laodikeia on the Lykos, a personification of Phrygia repeatedly appears under Caracalla and Philip the Arab;³⁵ however, the earliest numismatic examples of the personified Phrygia do not occur in Phrygia at all, but instead on Hadrian's official silver coinage in his *adventus*- and *restitutor*-series.³⁶

Several cities in Roman Phrygia referred to Greek and to local origins on their coinage, in various different ways. These traditions are well worth examining, both as a public medium and as a form of self-testimony of local elites. At first sight the iconography of the relevant coins corresponds to the conventional way of depicting foundation heroes in the Graeco-Roman world, showing (usually on the reverse) warriors, riders, figures performing a sacrifice or stepping on a boat, or just a simple bust. The local heroes with whom these figures have been identified are often eponymous to the cities. Some of them are Phrygians known from the Homeric epics, such as the brothers Otreus and Mygdon, the sons of Akmon and nephews of Doias, and Akamas and Ascanius. Not least, King Midas was worshipped in several cities as a foundation hero.³⁷ Homeric traditions were an essential point of reference in demonstrating the autochthony of the Phrygians in Asia Minor, which in turn was – alongside a *bona fide* Greek origin – crucial for promoting the good ancestry (εὐγένεια) of a city.

³⁴ Stereotyped inscription ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΚ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΟΝ, minted under the Roman emperors Nero, Vespasian, Caracalla (and Plautilla) and Philip the Arab. For a list see Dräger 1993: 71; illustrated and discussed by Thonemann 2011a: 109–17. They have recently been connected with a Phrygian *eparchia* by Vitale 2012: 80–3.

³⁵ Two different emissions under Caracalla: (1) Schlosser 1891: 1–3 (pl. 1.1); *BMC Phrygia* no. 228 (pl. 38.2); *SNG von Aulock* 3856 (pl. 126); Dräger 1993: 77, with n. 35. (2) *LIMC* VII 406, no. 9, s.v. Phrygia (R. Vollkommer). One emission under Philip the Arab: Hecht 1968: 30, no. 9 (pl. 9.9, wrongly labelled no. 8); Dräger 1993: 77, with n. 35.

³⁶ Strack 1933: 139–48, nos. 764, 783 (pl. 13–14); *LIMC* VII 406, nos. 6–7, s.v. Phrygia (R. Vollkommer). See also H. Cohen 1955: II 112, no. 74; 214, nos. 1286–91; *RIC* II 905, 962–4; *BMC RE* III: 496, 525, nos. 1828–30 (pl. 97.4); Toynbee 1934: 127 (pl. 5.23–4); Kreitzer 1996: 182–3, with fig. 40.

³⁷ H. *Il.* 2.823, 862; 3.184–9; 12.100; 13.790. For foundation myths in general, see Robert, *OMS* VII, 185–224; Weiss 1984; Strubbe 1984–6. Otrous: Aulock 1980: nos. 791, 826–34, 836–47 (warrior on prow). Stektorion: *SNG Cop.* 691; *SNG von Aulock* 8441 (warrior); *SNG Cop.* 692 (warrior on prow); *Coll. Wadd.* 6505 (pl. 18.11: quadriga). Akmonia: *BMC Phrygia* nos. 57–9, 107–8 (pl. 4.6); *SNG von Aulock* 3377, 3380–1, 8313 (rider); *BMC Phrygia* no. 102; Robert, *OMS* VII, 215, fig. 6 (below: sacrifice). Dorylaion: *BMC Phrygia* no. 13; Aulock 1987: no. 269; Weiss 1984: 197, n. 14 (sacrifice). Synnada: *BMC Phrygia* no. 30 (pl. 46.13: warrior). King Midas as eponymous hero of Midaion: *RE* XI 2, 2085, s.v. Ktistes (K. Prehn); Aulock 1987: nos. 749, 827, 830–1; A. H. M. Jones 1971: 67; Leschhorn 1984: 377. Midas on coins from Prymnessos: Aulock 1987: nos. 858–68, 942–5, 955–61; A. H. M. Jones 1971: 67. As founder of Ankyra: Paus. 1.4.5.

According to Herodotus the ‘Briges’ (or ‘Phryges’, as they then called themselves) were related to the Thracians, and had migrated from Northern Greece to Asia Minor.³⁸ The Phrygians were acknowledged as one of the oldest people of the world, most notably for their language, and among their myths of origin are various indications of stories of a Phrygian flood.³⁹ A Phrygian flood-myth is known from the Ovidian episode of Philemon and Baucis; in Nonnos’ late antique *Dionysiaca* the heroes of the story are Priasos and his father Brontios. The Greek flood myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha appears to be combined with the biblical flood of Noah on some well-known coins of Apameia Kibotos; yet another local flood myth refers to King Midas and his son. At Ikonion, a foundation myth explained the Greek name ‘Eikonion’ as a reference to the clay images of humans made by Prometheus after the Deukalian flood. Ikonion was also the home of a mythical antediluvian king (N)annakos, whose tears over the coming deluge were proverbial. Nannakos is also associated in some sources with Pessinous, and Mt Agdos, not far from Pessinous, was identified with the Mt Parnassos of the Deukalian flood myth.⁴⁰

Points of contact with Homer were drawn not only through the appearance of Phrygians in the *Iliad*, but also through their collective identification with the Trojans (frequent from the fifth century BC onwards). Originating in the barbarian stereotypes of Athenian society, the Phrygians were thus counted among the ancestors of the Romans, whom Ovid called ‘grandchildren of the Phrygians.’⁴¹ Most importantly of all, through the Phrygian hero Ascanius – reckoned as a son of Aeneas since Hellenistic times, and therefore an ancestor of the *gens Iulia* – a direct connection to the Imperial family was established. Three coin-issues of the Phrygian city of Otrous, depicting Aeneas’ escape from Troy with the Palladion, his old father Anchises and his son Ascanius, clearly refer to this tradition.⁴²

³⁸ Hdt. 7.73; 8.138. Other forms of the name are ‘Bryges’ or ‘Bruges’: Carrington 1976: 18–26; Carrington 1977: 117–18; Drews 1993: 11–12, 19–23.

³⁹ Men. Rhet. 354.1–2; cf. the account of a language experiment by Psammetichos I: Hdt. 2.2, with Lloyd 1976: 4–12; Vannicelli 1997; Gera 2003: 68–92; Rives 2005: 240–1.

⁴⁰ Ov. Met. 8.618–724; Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.518–45. Apameia: *SNG von Aulock* 3506, 3513, 8347 (coins); [Plut.] *Par. min.* 5 [Plut. *Mor.* 306] (King Midas). Ikonion/Nannakos: Herod. 3.10; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἰκόνιον. Pessinous: Hermogenes, ap. Zenob. 6.10, *FGrH* IIIc no. 795F2; Timotheos, ap. Arnob. 5.5. See Caduff 1986: 73–132; Chuvin 1991: 129–35; Trebilco 1991: 88–95; Borgeaud 1996: 73; Rives 2005; J. Nollé 2006: 77–8, 85, 91, 101; Thonemann 2011a: 88–98; Zwingmann 2011: 99–106.

⁴¹ Ov. Met. 15.444. For barbarian stereotypes in Athens: Aesch. *TrGF* III F446; also Eur. *IA* 72; see E. Hall 1988; Bäbler 1998: 156.

⁴² Ascanius as king of Phrygia and son of Aeneas: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47.5; 1.54.2; 3.31.4, referring to Hellanikos, *FGrH* I, no. 4F31. In Homer, the name belongs to a Trojan ally from

As allusions to the Homeric Phrygians are attested in numerous records of foundation myths in the cities of Roman Phrygia, the absence of other Trojan heroes (such as Paris or Hector) in Phrygia is significant. Against this background, the local cult of Men Askaenos, whose extra-urban sanctuary is situated on a mountain peak south-east of the Roman colony of Pisidian Antioch, offered an ideal combination that appealed to the different population groups in the city – Greek and Roman colonists as much as Phrygian natives.⁴³

These examples illustrate the importance of mythology for the development of local identities, where mythical Phrygians assume an eminent role in the self-representation of cities. Depictions of these various figures follow Graeco-Roman patterns in their iconography, while always stressing the positive aspects of Phrygians. For instance, King Midas in his capacity as foundation hero is shown without the ass's ears that are normally found in Greek representations.⁴⁴ Even Marsyas, in Greek mythology a satyr who is punished by Apollo for his *hybris* in challenging him to a musical competition, is referred to with pride. At Apameia, whose inhabitants claimed that the contest had taken place there, 'Marsyas' was also the name of a small headstream of the Maeander river, at whose spring the skin of Marsyas allegedly hung. According to Pausanias (10.30.9), the sound of his pipes once protected the city from a Galatian attack.⁴⁵ Marsyas is proudly

Phrygian Ascania (H. Il. 2.862; 13.790). Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.53.4–5, hints towards Hellespontine Phrygia, and therefore again towards the equation of Trojans und Phrygians. For the Roman tradition: Verg. *Aen.* 1.267–8; see *DNP* VI, 55, s.v. Iulus (F. Graf). Coins of Otrous: *BMC Phrygia* no. 14 (pl. 40.7); Aulock 1980: nos. 787–8, 816.

⁴³ For the sanctuary, see Ramsay 1918: 110–21; Karamut 1989; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998. For the inscriptions, see Hardie 1912: 121–44; Ramsay 1918: 107–10, 123–45; Levick 1970; Levick 1971; Lane 1971: 114–38, nos. 179–248; Lane 1978; *L'Antioche de Pisidie* 1, 8–10, 32–40, 176–83.

⁴⁴ King Midas in Greek vase painting: Brommer 1941; Roller 1984; M. C. Miller 1988; DeVries 2000: 342–50. For King Midas on coins, see *LIMC* VIII, 846–51, s.v. Midas (M. C. Miller), esp. 846–7.

⁴⁵ J. Nollé 2006: 79–81; Thonemann 2011a: 57–75. Marsyas and Kelainai: Hdt. 7.26.3 and Xen. *An.* 1.2.8; Marsyas as river name: Strabo 12.8.15; see also J. Nollé 2006: 105; for other literary sources, see Jacoby's commentary on *FGrH* IIIa no. 273F77, 285–7; Sementchenko 2011. For the musical competition: Ov. *Met.* 6.382–400; Hyg. *Fab.* 165; for other literary sources, see Schindler 1988: 118–24; Zschätzsch 2002: 146–7; Seemann 2006: 13–19. In some sources Apollo was not the indisputable winner, but won by some additional performance such as singing or playing the cithara upside down: Diod. Sic. 3.59.2–3; Hyg. *Fab.* 165. For the musical history around the 'auloi' behind the myth, see Levick, Chapter 2 above; West 1992: 174–7, 180–1, 330–3; Vogel 2006, esp. 75–6, 82–4; see also Seemann 2006: 115–16; J. Nollé 2006: 106; Hagel 2005, esp. 84; Hagel 2008; Brinkmann 2008: 36–41. For the etymologizing change of the toponym Aulutrene near Apameia to Aulokrene (= 'Aulos spring'), see Christol and Drew-Bear 1987: 30–1, 43–6.

depicted on Apameian coins of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods: he appears playing his pipes (amongst others, on a coin minted in the name of the *koinon* of Phrygia), as a river god, and observing Athena playing the pipes from behind a rock. Furthermore, the tree depicted on the reverse of a pseudo-autonomous coin-type of Apameia can be taken as an allusion to a particular tree that was, according to Pliny, pointed out to visitors as the actual location of the punishment.⁴⁶

Abundant evidence for Phrygian local identities is yielded by the rich variety of local cults. Among the most significant was the cult of Meter Agdistis at Pessinous, Dokimeion and throughout the Phrygian Highlands, where Attis also played an important role. Also readily identifiable by a local toponym and a distinctive local image was the Meter Steunene of Aizanoi. Her sanctuary, located in a cave outside the urban centre, was well suited for a syncretic identification with the Greek goddess Rhea; a local myth of the birth of Zeus at Aizanoi, also referred to in the local coinage, established a relationship between the Meter Steunene and the chief deity of the city. Similar references have been found in other Phrygian cities, such as Akmonia and Laodikeia on the Lykos.⁴⁷

Outside Phrygia, the quintessentially Phrygian deity was undoubtedly Kybele. However, within Phrygia itself we also find numerous male deities, especially local cults of Zeus. Rural sanctuaries often enjoyed a close connection to urban centres and their major gods: so for instance the rural sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos and Meter Leto, overlooking a loop of the Maeander river north of Çal, had a close connection with Hierapolis-Pamukkale. The votive inscriptions found here, including several confession texts, show the strong devotion and absolute obedience of the adherents, thus exemplifying

⁴⁶ Playing the flute: *BMC Phrygia* p.74, Type iii; nos. 126, 147–8, 152–4 (pl. 10.8–9; 11.9); *SNG Cop.* 186–94, 200, 208; *SNG von Aulock* 3472–4, 8340. KOINON emission: Dräger 1993: 71. As river god: *BMC Phrygia* nos. 127, 129, 155–8 (pl. 11.10–12); *SNG Cop.* 211–12; *SNG von Aulock* 3479, 3492–3, 8343, 8346. Marsyas and Athena: *BMC Phrygia* no. 164 (pl. 12.2); *SNG von Aulock* 3497, 8344; Nollé 2006: 79–81; Thonemann 2011a: 63–4; Zwingmann 2011: 98; *LIMC* VI, 377–8, s.v. Marsyas (A. Weis). Tree: Plin. *HN* 16.240; *SNG von Aulock* 3477; Nollé 2006: 80–1, 121 (fig. 16); Zwingmann 2011: 97–8.

⁴⁷ For Meter Agdistis see Robert, *OMS VII ADD REF*; Robert 1980: 228–38. In the first century AD, Statius ascribed the red veining of the *marmor Phrygium* from Dokimeion to the blood of Attis when he emasculated himself (*Stat. Silv.* 1.5.36–9). For Meter Steunene and her local image (accompanied by two *parhedroi*) see Naumann 1967; Naumann-Steckner 1983: 256–7; Rheidt 1999: 248–50; Ateş 2010. Coins of Aizanoi relating to the childbirth of Zeus (Ap. Rhod. 3.133; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6) are: Naumann 1979: 86, 90–3, nos. 51, 56, 63, 66 (pl. 76–7; H. von Aulock); see Robert 1987: 263–70; R. Lindner 1994: 167, 172; Rheidt 2010: 172–3. Other cities: *RPC VII* 1, 679; *BMC Phrygia* no. 101 (pl. 4.4: Akmonia); *SNG Cop.* 589 (Laodikeia); *SNG von Aulock* 3514 (Apameia); *RPC VII* 1, 790, 794 (pl. 65–6: Synnada).

the importance of religion within this particular rural society.⁴⁸ In spite of some rituals which were suspect to outsiders – most prominently those of the *Galli*, the priests of Kybele at Rome – Phrygians enjoyed a reputation as soothsayers.⁴⁹

These and other inscriptions exhibit certain linguistic peculiarities that have led some scholars to assume a bilingual Graeco-Phrygian society in large swaths of Phrygia.⁵⁰ But Neo-Phrygian inscriptions have only been found in certain restricted parts of the western Anatolian plateau, and most are no more than grave curses, often written on doorstones as stated above. In this context it is important to remember that a large proportion of the region's inhabitants must have been illiterate. If and when an individual developed the ability to read and write, it was certainly in the Greek language. (This also helps to explain the importance of objects such as writing implements on the region's funerary reliefs.) The native language continued to occur only in regions where bilingualism was of real importance, and even then only in the limited ritual context of grave cult – no doubt because of the particularly pressing need to preserve the integrity of the grave.

Stories of urbanization

For Greek and Roman writers, as for much modern research, Phrygia is always found in the field of the Other; her essence is to be found in the countryside, lacking as it did the crucial elements of Graeco-Roman culture and urban *paideia*.⁵¹ Although these rural areas were steadily drawn into the urban orbit over the course of the Imperial period, the

⁴⁸ For local Zeus cults see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990; Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızturhan 1999. For the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos see Hogarth and Ramsay 1887: esp. 376; *MAMA* IV, xiv–xv, and nos. 269–90; Robert 1962: 127–49; Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000; see also *TIB Phrygien* 210, s.v. Bekilli; 234, s.v. Dionysoupolis. For the confession texts see Petzl 1994: 122–43, nos. 106–24. For coins from Hierapolis with Apollon Lairbenos (head with rays of light, double axe and snake): *SNG von Aulock* 3625–9; *SNG München* 228, 231–3; *SNG Cop.* 445. He also represented Hierapolis on some *homonoia*-coins: *BMC Phrygia* nos. 177–85 (pl. 52.3); *SNG von Aulock* 3662; *SNG München* 247, 253; see Robert 1962: 138–9; A. Johnston 1984: 72–3, nos. 50–5; Franke and Nollé 1997: Index, s.v. Apollon von Hierapolis.

⁴⁹ Cic. *Div.* 1.92; 1.94; 2.80; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.5; Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 1.1; Just. *Epit.* 11.7.5–14; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.74; see Rives 2005: 238, with n. 43. For the *galli* see Thomas 1984: 1525–8; Beard 1994; Borgeaud 1996; Alvar 2008: 246–61.

⁵⁰ Brixhe 2002c.

⁵¹ Cicero, for instance, describes Phrygia as 'most distant' (Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.154, *in ultima Phrygia*) and tries to compromise Phrygian and other witnesses from Asia Minor in court as backwoods

development of distinctive local forms of grave monuments and the appearance of the Neo-Phrygian language, both typical of Roman Phrygia, seemingly provide some confirmation for this picture. The more urban an area and richer the purchasers, the more similar their grave monuments appear to the well-established funerary repertoire of the *metropoleis* of Asia Minor; no Neo-Phrygian curses appear on wealthy urban monuments. Yet the confrontation with other evidence for Phrygian identity reveals a surprising contrast.

While the typically 'Phrygian' grave monuments and the evidence for a distinctive Phrygian identity appear largely in the area of the former Persian satrapy of 'Greater Phrygia', in the western part of the central Anatolian plateau, their distribution in fact throws up considerable differences on a more detailed examination. Grave-types with a door façade and the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions tended to occur in recently or partially urbanized regions; both were employed primarily by social groups that were in the process of being integrated into a basically urban Graeco-Roman society. These social groups are found spread over a vast area of the central Anatolian plateau, in the broad margin between the Roman provinces of Asia and Galatia. By contrast, the evidence for a conscious Phrygian identity is largely confined to the developed urban centres of the western highlands, and above all to the region around the headwaters of the Maeander, where personifications of Phrygia, Phrygian founders, local myths and local gods all form a part of local *polis*-identity on a Greek-style model. Perhaps most striking of all is the claim of Apameia Kibotos, the former Kelainai and one-time capital of 'Greater Phrygia', to be the main centre of Roman Phrygia, as reflected in her emissions in the name of a Phrygian *koinon*.

The development of local identities and of typical local monuments in Roman Phrygia can both be connected with the process of urbanization, yet the characteristic monuments of Phrygia ought not primarily to be understood as markers of a Phrygian identity. This dynamic divergence helps us to understand the relative importance of language and material culture for the construction of ethnic identities. What the archaeological evidence primarily conveys is a sense of the self-conception of the local population that differs radically from external viewpoints. Even if the local Phrygian population's room for manoeuvre was limited by political constraints and

blockheads (Cic. *Flacc.* 17.39–41); see Schmitz 1985: 82–4; Gnoli and Thornton 1997: 162–5. Compare, for example, Drew-Bear 2007; Levick 2007; see also Levick, Chapter 2 above.

the powerful view of the oriental barbarian in the Graeco-Roman world, myth and cult offered them convenient categories within which to express their local identity, not least because these were the categories accepted and promoted by the dominant Graeco-Roman culture of the age.⁵²

⁵² We may recall conceptions such as Assmann's term 'Mythomotorik': see Assmann 2007: 78–83, 296.

5 | Phrygians in relief: trends in self-representation

JANE MASSÉGLIA

The archaeological context

The relief *stelai* of Phrygia form a rich and highly evocative corpus of evidence for life in rural Anatolia which few other regions can match. We owe this corpus to a particular set of environmental circumstances: firstly, the local marble, from which votive and funerary *stelai* were carved, was of particularly high quality, allowing good preservation of the overall slab and of the finer details of the carving, even very shallow marks. Secondly, the organized mining of this white marble from the Imperial quarries at Dokimeion and its satellites made this material accessible to a wide cross-section of the local population.¹ Even peasant farmers and their families took advantage of smaller pieces and offcuts which allowed them to engage in the same ‘*stèle* culture’ as their wealthier compatriots,² leaving archaeologists and historians with an unusually broad social sweep; far broader, for example, than the *stelai* of the Aegean coast, which are largely confined to images and inscriptions of the urban elite.³ Thirdly, the enduringly rural nature of much of modern inner Anatolia has enabled a large number of these remarkable *stelai* to survive untouched by many of the phenomena which threaten archaeological material elsewhere, such as high-density urbanism and military bombardment.

The typology of *stelai* forms has already been the subject of detailed study by Tomas Lochman and Ute Kelp, who have drawn attention to particular regional variations in shape and size.⁴ Significant for the study of Phrygian regionality is the clear difference in quality between the larger, finer *stelai* destined for the Upper Tembris valley (also the final location of many of the impressive ‘doorstones’),⁵ and the smaller, more schematic *stelai* of central Phrygia.⁶ The dating of the surviving material is largely confined

¹ Near modern İncehisar in Afyonkarahisar province: Waelkens 1982a; Christol and Drew-Bear 2005; see further Niewöhner, Chapter 10 below.

² Drew-Bear 1998: 391–2; Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızlıturan 1999: 13–14.

³ Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9. ⁴ Lochman 2003; Kelp, Chapter 4 above.

⁵ The subject of Waelkens’ comprehensive 1986 monograph.

⁶ Lochman 1990: 455; Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızlıturan 1999: 14.

between the later second and the early fourth century AD, corresponding to the period of intensive Imperial quarrying in the region.⁷ The choice of shapes is remarkably conservative: most common are slabs in ‘portrait’ orientation, with architectural frames and pitched gables (often with outlines for *akroteria* rendered in relief), or more rarely with arched roofs. Tall rectangular *bōmoi* can also be found, decorated with images in the long central section, with inscriptions often arranged on the flared base or capital. A smaller number are in ‘landscape’ orientation, such as the Roman-style *tabula ansata*,⁸ and the small votive slabs on which a bust of Zeus was often carved above a depiction of livestock.⁹

The material in this chapter is intentionally eclectic, with the aim of presenting something of the breadth of the Phrygian *stelai*, both in their iconography and the identity of their dedicants. Both votive and funerary *stelai* are included, despite their differing functions, since they share the same two features which are so distinctive of the corpus and so informative of Phrygian priorities: both reflect a predilection for figurative images and self-display, especially through portraits of the dedicants and/or deceased; and both display a deeply rooted, widely practised epigraphic habit, regardless of the apparent status of the dedicants, or quality of the carving. *Portraiture* and *epigraphy* were at the heart of how Phrygians recognized and evaluated the person behind the public monument. The inscriptions have received (and continue to receive) scholarly attention, as a rich source of information for family life, onomastics, religious practices and linguistic traits within the region, but the portraits have been somewhat overlooked, perhaps because making judgements about people on the basis of their appearance is something we feel we already know how to do. But this kind of ‘intuitive reading’ is not always reliable, especially when we are faced with such a codified and repetitive corpus. This chapter offers some observations and suggestions as to how to go about unpicking the visual language of Phrygian self-display, with a view to making a more considered assessment of the people depicted.

The Phrygian cosmos

Distinctive of the Phrygian *stelai* is a tendency towards compositional complexity and visual eclecticism. The keyword is *multiple*: multiple figures

⁷ Waelkens 1985; Fant 1989a; Lochman 1990: 455.

⁸ Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: 22. Occasionally, these tablets appeared the ‘wrong way up’ on the vertical, which suggests that not all sculptors were entirely familiar with the type.

⁹ E.g. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 27.127.70 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: no. 427).

arranged in multiple registers with multiple ‘props’ and multiple scales. Taller slabs are often divided into several fields. Even in the simpler forms with *naiskos* and pediment, the entablature and base (often with the inscription) effectively divide the space into three (plinth, image and entablature). The most complex compositions, usually from the Upper Tembris corpus, place figured scenes one above the other in a strikingly hierarchical formation. The general order appears at first glance to be gods on top, mortals beneath and animals on the bottom, but closer inspection indicates that certain variations and subdivisions were possible. The gods themselves could be visually ranked. Zeus or Helios might appear uppermost, with divinities such as Selene, Demeter or the triform Hekate beneath (Fig. 5.1). The local Phrygian moon god Men, marked by his crescent, could appear in the upper register; but he also appears in his form as a warrior on horseback alongside mortal figures, in a manner which calls to mind the more earthly ‘hero’ rider motif of the Hellenistic period.¹⁰ Even more flexible was the use of mortal busts in addition to the main figurative portraits, which we might take to be additional members of the family, perhaps those who have predeceased the dedicator. These can appear in the lowest register (e.g. the *stèle* of Amia’s anonymous baby, Fig. 5.12 below), in the main field (e.g. Glykon in Fig. 5.1, who is one step removed from the presence of Tateis, appearing as a statue bust on a plinth beside her ‘living’ bust), or even in the central pedimental positions (e.g. Fig. 5.3 below). Whether these busts represent something as formal as an ancestor cult, it is difficult to say. Certainly their frequency in the reliefs suggests that they were important, but the lack of fixed iconographic practices might suggest a more general appreciation of family (see below) rather than any formalized religious observance.

Whether these registers represent a Phrygian view of the cosmos in metaphorical or literal terms is worth considering. We might understand that Helios appears above Zeus in the *stèle* of Tateis and Glykon (Fig. 5.1), with the sun at the physically highest point in this allegorical sky. Similarly, perhaps the oxen are at the bottom because of their association with the land. In that case, these *stelai* would show in cross-section the physical strata of the world in the Phrygian imagination.¹¹ Alternatively (and I think more probably), we might see these layers metaphorically, as indicators of

¹⁰ For the depiction of Men and other deities as rider gods, see Delemen 1999; *I.BurdurMus* pp. 255–74 (esp. 264).

¹¹ Compare also the *stèle* of Philopator, Chrestos and Andreas in the Louvre (Lochman 2003: II 463, fig. 80) where gods are arranged in three registers, with celestial gods uppermost, Men and allegorical deities (including *Hosios* and *Dikaios*) in the middle, and the earthly gods Herakles and Hermes with the oxen on the bottom register.



Figure 5.1. Funerary *stele* of Tateis and her son Glykon, beneath busts of Men and Demeter, triform Hekate, Zeus and Helios. Upper Tembris valley (early third century AD). Calvet Museum, Avignon, inv. 24.201. Lochman 1990: fig. 1 (*SEG* 40, 1241). Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ Σωτείρης Ἑκάτης Μένανδρος δαίηρ κὲ Κύριλα ἐνάτηρ, Πάπας υἱός, Ἀπης νύμφη Τάτειν κὲ Γ<λ>ύκωναν υἱὸν αὐτῆς {ε}τειμη|θέντας ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἑκάτη[s] | κατε|ιέρωσαν, κὲ Ὀνήσι|μος τε|θρεμέν|ος ὁπείερ|ω|σε|ν ('With good fortune, of Saviour Hekate: Menandros, brother-in-law, and Kyrila, sister-in-law, Papas, son, Apes, daughter-in-law, consecrated Tateis and her son Glykon, who had been honoured by Saviour Hekate; Onesimos, her *threptos*, also consecrated her').

prestige, with gods, mortals and livestock in their appointed places. As Peter Thonemann notes in this volume, Phrygia was different from other, often more urban areas of Roman Asia Minor in possessing a less differentiated, less hierarchical social structure.¹² But if we pursue a metaphorical interpretation of these layers, we must also allow that the Phrygians still saw the *wider* cosmos in hierarchical terms, and were capable of making distinctions between the relative importance of certain deities, as well as between human and animal earth-dwellers.

Props: building biographies

Also prevalent in the Upper Tembris *stelai* (but by no means confined to them) is the depiction of the material goods of the dedicator or deceased. Although we rarely find an identical selection of these items depicted on two *stelai*, the recurrence of certain motifs makes it clear that these are constituent parts of an accepted repertoire. The choice of props and accessories, rendered in shallow relief and without any real sense of volume, differs according to the gender of the individual concerned, giving us a useful insight into Phrygian social expectations.¹³ For women, the emphasis rests on wool-working and personal grooming. The trumpet-shaped wool basket, so familiar in the Hellenistic grave *stelai* of women from the Ionian coast,¹⁴ remains unchanged (although now sometimes shown with a pet bird perched on top of it),¹⁵ and is depicted alongside objects such as spindles, carding/weaving combs¹⁶ and even, in some rare cases, the loom itself (Fig. 5.2). Hair combs, perfume and cosmetic vessels and the distinctive long-handled mirrors complement the implications of personal industry with those of not simply beauty, but *time to groom* in a tradition of considerable historical pedigree in the Graeco-Roman world.

¹² Thonemann, Chapter 1 above.

¹³ This is most evident in the case of 'doorstones' where the busts of the deceased couple sit within the arched gable, each above one leaf of the door which carried the respective 'masculine' and 'feminine' objects.

¹⁴ E.g. Menophila from Sardis, Istanbul I 4033 (*Sardis* VII 1, 111; Connelly 2007: 253). Philista, daughter of Memnon, Ashmolean Museum (Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9: no. 535).

¹⁵ E.g. Fig. 5.6 below. This motif is especially common in the 'doorstones', e.g. the *stèle* of Gaios and Tatia in the Afyon Museum (Lochman 2003: II 110, fig. 35).

¹⁶ More than one kind of comb appears in the reliefs. Those which have fine teeth on both sides of the central spine, often appearing in conjunction with mirrors, are surely hair combs. A second form, with thick teeth on one side only, appears alongside wool-working tools, which suggests either a carding comb (when near a wool basket) or a weaving comb for compacting the weft (when near a loom).



Figure 5.2. Funerary *stèle* of Apphia and her husband Memnon. Kuruca (Roman Imperial period). Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara. *RECAM* II 145. Αφφια Ἀνφίουτος Μέμνονι | Φιλήμονος τῷ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν (‘Apphia daughter of Anphion, for her husband Memnon son of Philemon, in memoriam’).

For Phrygian men, however, these carved props are historically unusual among Anatolian *stelai* in combining the Graeco-Roman paraphernalia of the literate and leisured individual (scrolls, tablets, styluses, etc.) with agricultural tools, such as pruning hooks and small axes. The men’s corpus of accessories, then, strikingly *mirrors* that of the Phrygian women in



Figure 5.3. Top section of funerary doorstone. Deceased couple with bust of daughter (?) above. Early third century AD. Malcove Collection, University of Toronto. Lochman 1990: fig. 8.

combining both industry *and* leisure: wool-working is to tending vines as pursuing a beauty regime is to reading. This is even more remarkable when we consider that the Hellenistic precedents, from which the Phrygian *stelai* draw many iconographic elements, had no parallel for these references to manual labour by men. This apparent balance in the presentation of men and women, and the emphasis on personal industry, are both topics to which we shall return later in this chapter.

The frequent depictions of livestock are another distinctive motif on the Phrygian *stelai*, regardless of the status of the dedicator. An ox-team was such a commonly repeated image that the composition became highly formulaic, with two oxen in profile, facing right, and sometimes yoked to a plough (e.g. Fig. 5.5 below). Several *stèle* compositions suggest that this

particular motif was part of the iconography of death in funerary *stelai*,¹⁷ but this does not mean that oxen could not also appear as biographical props. In both funerary and votive reliefs we see bulls and cows with suckling calves standing in this same overlapping profile format. We also find depictions of horses, donkeys and dogs, narrating the real value of animals among Phrygia's rural communities as part of everyday life.¹⁸

The Phrygian body

Whether funerary or votive, of central or north-western provenance, Phrygian reliefs are dominated by figurative images, and in particular by portraits of their mortal subjects. The viewer meets each individual face on, rigidly frontal in a manner which had been the accepted mode for figurative *stelai* in Asia Minor since at least the third century BC.¹⁹ But what we see is not a fossilized replication of the Hellenistic forms; reflecting the variety of cultural influences within the region, we also find the chest-bust format popular in Roman art as an alternative to the full-figured portrait. Portraits of this type can be presented either with a flat bottom edge resting directly on a carved ground line, or with a more rounded body shown 'floating'.

Phrygian relief heads are almost universally oversized, with large, round faces. In poorer-quality reliefs, these heads often sit directly onto the shoulders, while in the more elaborate examples, they tend to sit atop unnaturally elongated necks. Faces have characteristically large, almond-shaped eyes, which seem larger above small, pursed mouths and fine, often long noses.²⁰ While the peasant votives show males with clean-shaven faces, the Upper Tembris examples show closely-trimmed beards in sufficient numbers to suggest that this was an available choice for many.²¹ We may ask whether this discrepancy between the peasant and bourgeois portraits indicates that beards were status-specific. Certainly the absence of beards from the less sophisticated *stelai* cannot easily be explained simply on the grounds of

¹⁷ The appearance of this formulaic ox-pair beside the mourning figures of Attis and Demeter/Persephone in two examples (in Gökçeler and the Uşak Museum, Lochman 2003: II 100 and II 192), and beside Hermes with his caduceus in the *stèle* of Philopator, Chrestos and Andreas (Lochman 2003: II 463, fig. 80, in which there are no other figures from the mortal world), suggests that it was connected with death, perhaps through chthonic associations.

¹⁸ Horses with foals: Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 53.11.66 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıuran 1999: no. 443); Donkey: fig. 5.10; Dog: fig. 5.7.

¹⁹ Zanker 1993: 226: 'whereas on the fourth-century reliefs the dead and the living turn toward one another, the Hellenistic *stelai* from Smyrna usually present each figure like an individual statue'; Lochman 1990: 459.

²⁰ Lochman 1990: 458. ²¹ E.g. Figs. 5.3 and 5.5.

technical complexity. Since a neatly trimmed beard requires careful maintenance, we may be seeing an expression of cultivation within a certain section of Phrygian society; but in the majority of cases, Phrygian men were depicted clean-shaven. When visible, men's hair is universally short (in particular contrast to the wavy, shoulder-length locks in the busts of Zeus), either with a central parting or brushed forward evenly around the brow. Women's hair is universally long and usually worn up, centrally parted and with waves indicated by shallow, lateral incisions. In cases where inscriptions are lacking and where chest busts truncate the distinctive long hem of a woman's chiton, the arrangement of the hair is sometimes the most straightforward means of determining the gender of a beardless portrait.

The bodies of the figures are usually rendered in shallow relief, giving a generally flat appearance. There is also a tendency towards sloping shoulders for both men and women, regardless of costume. The aesthetic which prompts this smoothness of outline may also be the same which drives the rounded form of the 'floating' chest busts, some of which subsequently render the torso almost circular in shape.²² Similarly, the sloping shoulders underneath the cloaks, as we shall see, contribute to the distinctive conical body form which characterizes many of the votives dedicated by and depicting members of the Phrygian peasant population. Where hands are visible outside drapery, these are, like the heads, often strikingly large, with broad palms and elongated fingers held out straight. This characteristic feature of Phrygian figurative reliefs has been connected by some scholars with a similar phenomenon in the representations of Zeus: the great right hand which protrudes from the god's *himation* is credited with a 'protective force'.²³ How readily this interpretation sits with the equally oversized hands of the Phrygians themselves is a question to which we will return.

Armed with this overview of the common trends in the use of registers, props and body shapes, we can now turn to perhaps the most significant of the artistic choices available to the sculptor: the 'uniform' in which the subject was to appear. This does not mean a discussion of clothing type as sartorial fashion, but an examination of traditional portrait formats which pronounced an individual's interests and aspirations. The variety of additional compositional details means that no two reliefs are ever identical,

²² Fig. 5.4. For a striking example of the circular chest bust, compare the Zeus relief in Drew-Bear 1976: no. 8.

²³ As the $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, posited by the Roberts (*BE* 1971, 659) and followed by Pleket in *SEG* 32, 1282 and *SEG* 40, 1195, by Lochman 1990: 461, n. 39, and others. See Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızlıturan 1999: 373–4 for the scholarly trajectory of this interpretation, and their own refutation.

but the central repertoire of portrait formats was, perhaps surprisingly, small. In what follows, we will examine the three most common of these: the arm sling (for men and women), the military uniform, and the peasant cloak (the latter two, it would seem, only for men). Each of these, as we will see, is intended to speak to the viewer about the lifestyle and so the *nature* of the subject; but each is also a useful means to measure the cultural influences and precedents which underpin Phrygian notions of portraiture and self-display.

Clothing

The arm sling

The arm-sling portrait format has its roots in Hellenistic honorific statuary of the urban elite, widely imitated in the relief *stelai* of the East Greeks, as a means of indicating (amongst other things) personal *sōphrosyne*, the suppression of gesticulation in public speaking, and that desirable connotation of impracticality that comes with being heavily draped.²⁴ Despite the considerable chronological gap in the archaeological record, the arm-sling model appears as one of the most popular portrait formats in Phrygian reliefs; the fabric of the figure's *himation* is wrapped forwards over their right shoulder to support the right forearm which is held against the chest. Despite its originally *urban* and *elite* connotations, the format was nonetheless embraced by a wide tranche of Phrygian society, appearing in both the poorer-quality Kemerkaya *stelai* and the Upper Tembris valley examples (e.g. Figs. 5.4 and 5.5), and considered appropriate for both images of votive dedicants and the deceased. The overall model has not gone unchanged, however. In the Phrygian repertoire, the arm sling is equally appropriate for a male and female subject (the so-called 'pudicitia' scheme which dominated Hellenistic female statuary is now rare), although women do wear longer *chitones* beneath their *himation*.

As we have already seen, a striking feature of the Phrygian *stelai* are the large hands which protrude from the *himation* in these arm-sling compositions. The clearly intentional emphasis is not simply communicated through the use of scale, but through the very depiction of the hand: the Hellenistic prototype of the arm-sling format usually showed only the fingers and part of the palm of the right hand, with the fingers curled, while the lowered left

²⁴ On the significance of the arm sling in Hellenistic society, see Zanker 1995: chapter 2; Masséglià, forthcoming.



Figure 5.4. Votive *stèle* of Nounas to Zeus Alsenos. H. 21.8 cm.

Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.44.64.

Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıturan 1999: no. 282. Νουνας Διι
 Ἀ|λσηνός εὐχή|ν (‘Nounas, to Zeus Alsenos, in fulfilment of a
 vow’).

hand was most often clenched into a fist, wrapped within the fabric of the *himation*, or tucked behind the figure’s back.²⁵ The large Phrygian hands, the right laid flat across the chest and the left flat against the thigh, are not technically less complex than, say, showing the tips of the fingers, or tucking

²⁵ E.g. İzmir, Kültürpark inv. 519 (Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9: no. 646) and *passim*.



Figure 5.5. Funerary relief of a man and woman holding scroll and spindle (respectively) in the lowered left hands, set up by their sons. Bird with wool basket placed centre top. H. 173 cm. Region of Altıntaş, Upper Tembris valley (c. AD 220–230). Bursa Archaeological Museum inv. 22. Mendel 1909: 292–4, no. 48; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9: I no. 581, fig. 92; Lochman 2003: II 277; Schörner 2005: fig. 4. Ἀγάθων κὲ Τρόφημος ἐτείμησαν τοὺς [ἐαυτῶ]ν γονεῖς μνήμης χάριν ('Agathon and Trophimos honoured their parents, in memoriam').

them away entirely.²⁶ So what is the advantage and desirability of choosing and then retaining this feature? Firstly, as can be seen from the large heads and eyes, details of the Phrygian bodies are depicted in such a way as to make them primarily *legible* rather than *realistic*. Large, well-defined and flat achieves this legibility. Secondly, the large, smooth-skinned heads and hands stand out attractively from the heavily textured folds of the heavily draped and heavily proportioned bodies. These are the two areas of bared flesh, where the *person* is differentiated from their body-shaped portrait plinth, and stressing these parts gives a certain liveliness, even life-likeness. Thirdly, these large hands, especially the lowered left hands, can be supplied with props, like spindles and scrolls, as part of the characterization of the individual (e.g. Figs. 5.5 and 5.8).

As has already been noted by Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan, interpreting the oversized hand of the familiar Zeus busts as a protective ‘hand of god’ can be problematic. But their proposal, that the large hands are the result of technical challenges in carving, but ‘*in certain cases*’ could manifest the power of Zeus, fails to address the parallel phenomenon of oversized *mortal* hands.²⁷ Instead, I suggest a single motivation and meaning which suits both divine and mortal subjects: we should consider hands as semi-otic necessities for indicating people *who do things*. If the Phrygians valued being practical and being industrious in the same way that Zeus is practical and industrious in his role as protector, the same enlarged hand can serve in both mortal and divine cases.²⁸ Furthermore, the Hellenistic arm-sling in which hands are not emphasized, but even concealed, originates from a social environment where suppression of activity and gesture was also prized; should it therefore be such a surprise that in the Phrygian reliefs, where props and accessories already emphasize their work ethic, that all the best people, mortal and divine, have large hands out on show? Rather, we might suppose that in an environment where practicality was prized, large hands naturally, and even unthinkingly, become a part of the body worth emphasizing.

While the arm sling is the most socially versatile of the portrait formats, two further choices appear to us in the visual record which seem to be more intimately connected to the status and material means of the individual depicted.

²⁶ *Contra* Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: 374, who suggest that hands are ‘difficult to render at a smaller scale’ and so shown oversized. Considering the small noses and mouths, I favour an aesthetic rather than a technical explanation.

²⁷ Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: 374.

²⁸ On Phrygian industriousness, see also Thonemann, Chapter 1 above, Conclusion.



Figure 5.6. Funerary relief of man in soldier's uniform, with spear, shield and curved sword (?). H. 68 cm. Işıklar, Upper Tembris valley (c. AD 260–280). Lochman 2003: II 230, fig. 56 (*SEG* 53, 1559).

Military uniform

Among the finer relief *stelai* from the Upper Tembris valley, we find a small number of male figures shown in military uniform (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7). This uniform comprises a calf-length pleated tunic, worn over a thinner, long-sleeved undershirt, wrapped by a broad sash around the waist, and finally secured with a thin belt with a buckle. The figures all appear to wear full shoes, but damage to the surface of the legs makes it difficult to say whether we should also see greaves or even leggings. Weaponry varies, suggesting



Figure 5.7. Funerary relief of man in soldier's uniform with biographical props. Yalnızsaray (c. AD 280). Altıntaş Open Air Museum inv. 14. Lochman 2003: II 231, fig. 57 (*SEG* 53, 1560).

either military distinctions through rights to bear certain arms, or simply differences in personal taste and means. The figure in the now headless soldier *stèle* from Işıklar (Fig. 5.6) holds the shaft of a spear in his right hand, and a shield (a prime example of the flexibility of scale in Phrygian reliefs) in his left. Also in his left hand, and resting on his chest and shoulder, is what appears to be a curved blade or scabbard with a decoratively bevelled edge. But the similar soldier figure from Yalnızsaray (Fig. 5.7) is without this distinctive blade, which raises questions about its significance. In both these *stelai* we find images of vines decorating the uprights of the frame. We might

see these as reference to viticulture, or simply shorthand for the ‘good life’ of which wine was a central part.²⁹ The individual in Fig. 5.7 compounds this image of the ‘soldier-farmer’ with the inclusion of a plough group in the right-hand corner of the frame, and his miniature hunting dog holding up a bristly animal in its jaws, beneath his left hand.³⁰ Country life and soldiering were clearly compatible.

But in the same *stelai* we also find props which point to literacy and education: the large diptych in the main field, and the scrolls and stylus holder in the frame. What relationship does this all-round ‘gentleman-farmer-soldier’ have with Phrygian reality? Could a man really be all of these things at once? It seems highly likely that this represents an individual who had the means to sustain several different roles by practising at least one of them in an indirect or nominal capacity. If this is the case, then this relief suggests that local administration in Phrygia was not unlike that known elsewhere in Asia Minor at this time: there existed different ‘grades’ of soldiering, including magistracies and positions within the local gendarmerie (*para-phylakes*, *eirenophylakes*, *diōgmitai*) which required varying degrees of direct military involvement, and some of which still left room for other activities and pursuits.³¹

Perhaps the most striking indication that a military uniform was compatible with Graeco-Roman literary leisure comes in the form of a double-registered funerary *stèle* erected by Papias for ‘all mine’ (i.e. his family or household) (Fig. 5.8). The relief shows a man, woman and child in both registers. In the uppermost, the man is shown in the arm-sling format, while on the bottom, the man is shown in military dress, this time with a cloak slung diagonally across his shoulder, and a sword at his right hip. The relief is problematic: the positioning of the figures, and the members and apparent ages of the two family groups are so similar as to suggest that they may be the *same* family in both images. In this case, Papias may have taken the opportunity to show himself in both his leisured gentleman uniform (arm sling with scroll), and underneath in his military uniform. But if, as I think more likely, the two families are *different*, perhaps showing Papias’ brother and his family (on which more below), we nonetheless understand

²⁹ Waelkens 1977 points to the preponderance of visual references to agriculture, grazing and viticulture in the decorative repertoire of the Phrygian reliefs, which might suggest the more literal interpretation. But we need not suppose that the vineyard owner was impervious to the charms of wine.

³⁰ Lochman 2003: II 321.

³¹ On the nature and responsibilities of local quasi-military magistracies in Asia Minor, see Brélaz 2005. I am grateful to Georgy Kantor for bringing this volume to my attention.



Figure 5.8. Funerary *stele* erected by Papias, son of Alexander, for ‘all my family’. Afyon Museum (c. AD 250–300). Παπίας Ἀλεξανδρῶ ἐποίησα ταύτη|ν τὴν ἱσθήλην
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς μνήμη|ς χάριν· τίς ἂν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μνημίῳ |
 κακὴν χεῖρα προσαγάγει, ἔξει | πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν
 (‘I, Papias son of Alexandros, made this stele for all my family, in memoriam; if anyone brings an evil hand against this memorial, he shall have to reckon with the all-powerful God’).

that leisured literacy and a military position were compatible within the same family, and equally deserving of commemoration in stone.

The peasant cloak

Just as the military uniformed portrait is confined to the finer-quality reliefs, the smaller and more schematic reliefs of central Phrygia also display a choice of costume format all their own. Male figures can be shown in a long cloak, worn with hood pulled up around the exposed face, and with the rest of the body covered as far as the ankles or even floor. The self-supporting peaked hood and the broad appearance of these figures strongly suggests an ancient antecedent of the thick, felt *kepenek*, part of the traditional clothing of Turkish herdsmen which still endures in some areas.³² The ease with which this conical silhouette can be made recognizable made it a popular form for the amateur sculptor, and we find it in a range of relief depths, from a simple incised outline³³ to figures with volume and varying surface details.³⁴ These figures appear singly and in combination with other individuals, indicating that these individuals are not 'loners', but familiar to and integrated into the Phrygian social fabric.

It has been the practice in English-language scholarship to describe those shown in these cloaks as 'shepherds'³⁵ although recognizable sheep do not feature heavily in Phrygian reliefs generally, and agriculture is at least as evident as pastoralism.³⁶ An objection to the term solely based on the species of livestock it implies would be captious, but I do feel there are good grounds for preferring the more broad term 'peasant' for these figures. Firstly, these cloaks were clearly not simply marks of an individual's profession, but qualified as the kind of 'best' clothing which could be appropriately depicted on reliefs displayed in public. There was, of course, no compulsion for individuals to depict themselves in their 'real', everyday clothes. That this cloak was proudly worn as a desirable costume can be seen from the large numbers of these figures who are shown in 'off-duty' environments, such as alongside their wives and families. In some cases, a male figure in a long cloak

³² Cf. Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: 377: 'such capes . . . were until recently the typical garment of the Anatolian shepherd'.

³³ E.g. the *stele* of Manes, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 26.11.64 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: no. 76).

³⁴ E.g. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.47.64 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yildizturan 1999: no. 84).

³⁵ The French 'bergers' (herdsmen) is more accurate: Robert, *Hellenica* VII 152–70.

³⁶ For a *stele* showing flocks of indeterminate herd animals (caprioid or bovine) beneath a protective bust of Zeus, see Drew-Bear 1998: fig. 12.



Figure 5.9. Votive *stèle* of Alexander and Tateis to Zeus Alsenos. H. 26 cm. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.36.64. Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıturan 1999: no. 147. Ἀλέξανδρ<ο>ς | καὶ Τάτεις | Διὶ Ἀλ|σηνῶ | εὐχὴν ('Alexandros and Tateis, to Zeus Alsenos, in fulfilment of a vow').

standing beside his wife simply replaces the arm-sling format (compare Figs. 5.5 and 5.9). These long cloaks also appear in group reliefs *alongside* other men in the arm-sling format, and in some cases we see *children* wearing long cloaks while the adult males do not.³⁷ It is unlikely that children would

³⁷ E.g. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.83.64 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıturan 1999: no. 142).

be presented in a costume which was specific to a particular profession, especially if their parents are presented in the traditional 'leisured' format.

In Fig. 5.11 below we have a remarkably eclectic relief dedicated by six men (the inscription tells us), which combines the Roman *tabula ansata* with the Graeco-Roman arm-sling and the Anatolian peasant-cloak formats. These men were of sufficiently equal status (perhaps even relatives) to dedicate the relief together, and yet there appears to be no conflict in placing different portrait formats next to one another. We can see, therefore, that the cloak was far more flexible as an item of clothing, and subsequently as a social indicator, than the term 'shepherd cloak' suggests. It is a smart version of an item familiar to these rural communities. A long and warm cloak would indeed have been desirable for children and men living in rural Phrygia, and the reliefs depict this in its longest and warmest incarnation. One needs only to compare the importance of folk dress in modern Turkey, elaborate 'best' confections based on the forms of real peasant clothing, to see how rural costume can be transformed into formal wear.

Phrygian women: further comments

Phrygian women are less numerous on reliefs, not least because of the preponderance of single, peasant-cloak dedications within the archaeological record. But women do appear, occasionally as dedicators,³⁸ and most frequently beside their husbands in joint dedications or funerary reliefs.³⁹ As we have seen in the case of biographical props, there are striking parallels in the presentation of women and men in the Phrygian reliefs. These similarities appear on *stelai* of all qualities and of both votive and funerary function, which suggests that gender relations had a particularly local (rather than status-based) flavour: where both husband and wife appear in the arm-sling format, they appear identical in height and gesture (e.g. Figs. 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.8), so that neither individual is prioritized within the scene.⁴⁰ There are, of course, exceptions, but the frequency of these 'balanced' couple compositions indicates that having a partner was an important and desirable part of social identity in Phrygia, for both parties.

³⁸ Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızlıturan 1999: 37.

³⁹ There are examples of women appearing without male members of the household, e.g. a *stèle* from Dokimeion showing an older and younger woman, differentiated by height but standing in identical poses: Afyon Museum inv. E. 1679 (Lochman 2003: III 81, fig. 119). Compare also Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.87.64 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızlıturan 1999: no. 243).

⁴⁰ Almost entirely replacing the Hellenistic 'pudicitia' format with its hand securing the veil, turned or lowered head, and self-hugging arm around the chest. For more on Hellenistic female portrait types, see Dillon 2010.

This is not to say, however, that gender distinctions were not also important, or that men and women were interchangeable. There are a few features specific to female figures which indicate something of the attitudes which shaped these images. While Phrygian men can, to some extent, choose between the various portrait formats open to their social group, women of all ages and all financial means are shown in *chiton* and *himation*. If costumes can be understood as identities, the women on the Phrygian reliefs have only one. The long *chiton* covers the body from neck to foot, and the *himation* provides a second layer of coverage from shoulder to knee. The majority of women are also shown veiled, the fabric worn like a hood, covering the top and back of the head, while leaving the hairline exposed. But there appears to be a degree of variety in methods and styles for covering the head, suggesting that this feature is not a formulaic part of the portrait format, but a reflection of real Phrygian practices. In some case, such as Figs. 5.2 and 5.8, this veil seem to be a fold of the *himation* pulled up over the back of the head, while in others a separate 'cap' is worn. In Fig. 5.3, the woman is shown wearing a short veil, which stops above her shoulder in a pair of attractive tassels.

The depiction of this unnamed woman in Fig. 5.3 also incorporates a curious feature which may also illuminate some of the other Upper Tembris reliefs. Where her parting reaches her forehead, the artist has undercut a small triangular notch, which gives the unusual impression that her hair is detached from her head. On closer inspection we also notice that the woman's parting is covered by a plain band, which splits into two at her forehead and follows the hairline around her temples to behind her ears. The younger female bust in the pediment does not display this band, so it is unlikely to be a technical quirk of the artist. Rather, she appears to be wearing a decorative band which covers her parting and frames her face. This also makes sense of the beaded effect which we see either side of the parting and around the hairline of Tateis in Fig. 5.1. Whether these are schematic 'snail curls' or decorative additions to her hairstyle, we can see that within the formalized repertoire of the *chiton* and *himation* format, a women's particular fashion credentials had to be communicated through what amount to only tiny variations of the traditional, parted hairstyle.

And even in these highly fashionable examples, Phrygian women are depicted with little jewellery. A close-fitting, choker-style necklace, either with three small pendants (two vine leaves (?) flanking a crescent)⁴¹ or a plaited design, can be seen above the collar of the *chiton* in several of the finer-quality *stelai*. Small stud earrings may also be worn, but neither

⁴¹ E.g. Figs. 5.1 and 5.3.

hoops, bangles, brooches nor rings appear to form part of the Phrygian female portrait costume. Just as with the single choice of portrait format, and similar hairstyles, the limited jewellery repertoire seems to indicate that while Phrygian women were valued and included in these reliefs, there was no apparent demand for these images to be greatly differentiated one from another. The female portrait repertoire enabled women of all status groups to look uniformly 'good', but social competition appears to have been channelled into the size and quality of the stone carving, not the dress and appearance of individual women. This might indicate a highly conservative attitude to relief portraiture, or reflect a strikingly uncompetitive attitude to clothing, or perhaps both.

Phrygian families

Also markedly different from the Hellenistic models from which the arm sling derives are adaptations which emphasize family and familial affection. While the Phrygian reliefs share the same statue-like frontality of the older *stelai*, changes are frequently made to these models to connect individuals. Most striking is that children are now depicted *alongside their parents* in a way which would have been most unfashionable in, for example, Hellenistic Smyrna.⁴² There is much still to say on the subject of the Phrygian family (see, provisionally, Thonemann, Chapter 6 below), and in time it is hoped that scholars will be able to bring together the rich archaeological and epigraphic data that will tell us more about how they lived. For the current chapter, however, a brief examination of three distinctive traits must suffice to give a flavour of the Phrygian attitudes towards family display:

The depiction of children

Recognizing a child in the Phrygian reliefs is often a question of context. In the *stèle* dedicated by Amia to Zeus Alsenos (Fig. 5.10), a boy and girl are shown in a raised register on the top right, wearing identical, gender-specific clothing to the adults beneath, but marked out by their small scale. In the highly flexible space of Phrygian reliefs, however, small scale does not *necessarily* always indicate a child. We have no reason to suppose that the group consisting of Glykon, Marcus, Urbanus, Sekounda, Babeis and Chelidon (Fig. 5.11) comprised five children and one adult, despite their different

⁴² Zanker 1993: 223.



Figure 5.10. Votive relief of Amia to Zeus Alsenos, depicting a peasant family and donkey. H. 32.2 cm. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.99.64. Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldıztüran 1999, no. 150. Αμια Δεὶ Ἄλσηνῶ | εὐχὴν ('Amia, to Zeus Alsenos, in fulfilment of a vow').

scales. Similarly, we have depictions of children who are in unnatural scale, such as the gigantic toddler in Fig. 5.12 who stands nude and fully upright, shoulder high to his parents.⁴³

Recognizable children's iconography is also something of a rarity. In addition to a small number of chubby infants, we occasionally see a short

⁴³ For another example of the desirability of chubby infants, compare the *stèle* of the baby Tryphon, with moving inscription, Afyon Museum inv. E. 6409 (Lochman 2003: III 67, fig. 111).



Figure 5.11. Votive *tabula ansata* of Glykon, Markos, Orbanos, Sekounda, Babeis and Chelidon to Zeus Alsenos. H. 24.5 cm. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 17.1.64. Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıturan 1999: no. 166. Γλύκων Μάρκος Ὀρβανός Σε|κου|νδα Βαβεί|ς |Χελειδών ὑπὲρ| ἑαυτῶν Ἄλσηνῶ | εὐχῇ ('Glykon, Marcus, Urbanus, Secunda, Babeis, Chelidon, on their own behalf, to Alsenos, in fulfilment of a vow').

cloak being worn (e.g. Fig. 5.8, upper register), or the *chiton* being worn without *himation* (e.g. Fig. 5.8, lower register, and Fig. 5.13).⁴⁴ A few of the finer-quality examples show the child with a pet bird, which is perhaps the only distinctive trait exclusive to their age.⁴⁵ But the vast majority of children in the Phrygian reliefs are presented simply as miniature, empty-handed versions of their parents. For older children, then, there are rarely means to internally identify them as such unless their parents are present. From this we might infer that Phrygian society viewed children as adults in the making, different only in the sense that they are smaller than adults, and yet to take on the biographical props and accessories which narrate adult life, such as plough animals, scrolls, mirrors, and so on.

⁴⁴ But again, neither costume represents exclusive iconography for children. Cf. the bearded Ouaxas beside his family in the *tabula ansata* in Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 17.3.64 (Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıturan 1999: no. 164).

⁴⁵ Child holding a bird, Toronto, Malcove Collection (Lochman 2003: II 242, fig. 59, upper section); child with bird at shoulder, Afyon Museum *s.l.* from Eğret (Lochman 2003: II 280, fig. 71).



Figure 5.12. Funerary relief dedicated to her infant child by Amia. The deceased is shown between his parents (?), and above two male and two female busts. H. 72 cm. Afyon Museum inv. E. 6407 (c. AD 160). Lochman 2003: III 65 (*SEG* 53, 1475). Lochman (followed, hesitantly, by Corsten in *SEG*) reads Ἀμία Ἐποικέντω τέκνω | ἄωρω{ς} χάριν μνήμης. The name Ἐποικέντος is unattested: read instead Ἀμία ἐπυ<ίσ>εν τῷ τέκνῳ | ἄωρω{ς} χάριν μνήμης (kappa inscribed in error for iota-sigma): ‘Amia made this for her short-lived child, in memoriam.’ The baby died before it had been given a name: cf. Waelkens 1986: 107–9, no. 252, fig. 41 (τὸ βρέφος).

The visual vocabulary for figures of children borrows heavily from the Hellenistic repertoire in portraying them in the same poses and portrait formats as adults, but their subsequent age-differentiation through placement *alongside* their parents is something new. The depiction of

children with their parents is familiar in Roman funerary art, especially those monuments of the freedman class, which may have influenced the multi-generational Phrygian compositions. But, as we shall see, there is a particular local fashion for physical touch between figures, and for inscriptions describing extended kin that suggests that family relationships were, independently, already highly valued in Phrygian society.

Physical touch

In his study of the Hellenistic grave reliefs of Smyrna, Paul Zanker rightly remarks on the curious appearance of a *stele* set up by the grieving parents of the brother and sister, Menophilos and Tryphaina.⁴⁶ Presumably by specific request, the artist had adapted the usually separate portrait formats chosen for the two children (both indistinguishable from adults) so that Tryphaina's hand rested on her brother's shoulder. As a natural gesture, rather than the formalized *dexiosis*, it is unique among Hellenistic grave reliefs, and, although awkward in execution, creates a bond between the two dead siblings which we might suppose was a comfort to those left behind. In the Phrygian reliefs, several centuries later, the traditional 'separate' group compositions still remain (e.g. Figs. 5.8 and 5.10), but alongside them is a popular alternative which shows family members touching one another.

In Fig. 5.2, Apphia and Memnon are shown turned towards one another within the gable, he resting his right hand on her near shoulder, and she with her right hand crossing her body to rest near his. Displays of affection between (we presume) husband and wife were not, apparently, incompatible with these public monuments. On a votive *tabula ansata* showing a Phrygian family group (Fig. 5.13), the husband is shown with his hand resting on his wife's shoulder,⁴⁷ and beside her is a child with whom she joins hands. The repeated motif of the arm held up to the next person creates the impression of a human chain in this smiling family, and emphatically narrates their *belonging together* in a way which gives us an insight into the importance of familial bonds in rural Phrygia.

⁴⁶ Vienna, Grinzing Cemetery (Zanker 1993: 227 and fig. 26).

⁴⁷ *Contra* Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıran 1999: no. 296, who describe the husband and wife as holding hands, but the woman's right arm is clearly visible in the arm sling.



Figure 5.13. Anepigraphic votive *tabula ansata* of a family touching and holding hands, with relief eyes above. H. 28.4 cm. Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara inv. 15.38.64. Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızturhan 1999: no. 296.

Households and extended families

As Peter Thonemann's study of the epigraphic evidence for Phrygian family and kinship in this volume demonstrates (Chapter 6 below), the Phrygian family was more complex than the father–mother–child unit. When these inscriptions are brought to bear on the study of the figurative reliefs, it becomes clear that 'nuclear family' assumptions and 'image only' interpretations can lead to grave misidentifications of the depicted and their familial relationships. Instead, we must be prepared for the possibility that the households celebrated and commemorated in these relief *stelai* displayed a great degree of flexibility in their composition.

As has already been noted, the composition of Tateis and Glykon's *stèle* (Fig. 5.1) is complex and in multiple registers, and indeed the inscription which accompanies its dedication suggests a similarly complex household: neither Tateis or Glykon are the dedicators, but rather Tateis' brother-in-law

and sister-in-law, son and daughter-in-law, and adopted son (*threptos*).⁴⁸ This collection of individuals tells us three things: that Tateis' family allegiances rested with the family that she married into; that this extended family unit continued to consider Tateis their own even in the absence of her husband (presumably following his death); and that Tateis had at least one natural son and one adopted son still living when she died. This kind of formation of an extended household through the joining of two brothers' families (i.e. Tateis' husband and the brother-in-law who leads the dedication of her *stele*) – the so-called *frèreche* type – may also help explain the two families that we have already seen in Fig. 5.8, shown with children of the same age.⁴⁹ If Papias is the older brother, he could, as head of the household, consider even his brother's family among the 'all mine' of the inscription. This solution also solves a number of problems with the rendering of the figures: that the child in the short cloak and square jaw in the upper register appears to be male, and the child in the *chiton* with a narrow chin in the bottom register, female; and that, while the men share a facial likeness, the two women do not. The additional and sometimes surprising information contained in the inscriptions is an important reminder that, while we may *think* we are looking at dedications by and images of husbands, wives and children, we may in fact be seeing a greater variety of agents and a wider range of family relationships on display.

Concluding remarks: lives in stone

At first glance, the corpus of Phrygian relief sculpture is not very prepossessing: flat, massive bodies with unsettlingly large hands and heads, or humorously conical bodies stare out at the viewer in highly repetitive formats. Compared to the contemporary public sculpture of the great urban centres in Asia Minor, the Phrygian *stelai* appear parochial both in style and content. But on closer inspection, the curious features of these images are in fact a local vernacular which speaks to us about Phrygian social attitudes and values.

In this rural landscape, a smart set of clothing was expected for the formal context of the portrait, but there was little apparent interest in clothes as fashion objects, and no great variations or embellishments to mark one

⁴⁸ SEG 40, 1241: 'Menandros, brother-in-law, and Kyrila, sister-in-law, Papas, son, Apes, daughter-in-law, consecrated Tateis and her son Glykon, who had been honoured by Saviour Hekate; Onesimos, her *threptos*, also consecrated her.'

⁴⁹ On *frèreche* households, see further Thonemann, Chapter 6 below.

similar outfit from another. The two most popular choices, the arm sling and the peasant cloak, were derived from urban Greek fashions and local Anatolian folk wear respectively, but a considerable number of peasants were proud enough to embrace their local costume, even to display it alongside the arm sling, without apology.⁵⁰ This sartorial continuity represents a cultural flexibility among the Phrygian peasant populace, who combined Greek and Roman influences in their *stèle* shapes and Graeco-Roman influences with Anatolian styles in their portrait costumes, just as they did with the Greek, Roman and local origins of their own personal names.⁵¹

In addition to this lack of sartorial competitiveness, we find the iconography of these reliefs dominated by biographical props and features which stress highly practical qualities. Even in the finer-quality Upper Tembris reliefs we find individuals who read, write, do their make-up and arrange their hair, but who also want to advertise their plough team, their excellent array of pruning tools and the technical complexities of their weaving apparatus. Gender roles are differentiated by the nature of the work, but both men and women are celebrated for their industry, a quality which, I have argued, is also communicated in the size of their hands. The reliefs themselves are often complex in design, with multiple registers and varying scales, and display a combination of architectural elements, figurative decoration and highly visible inscriptions in often large letters. The visual effect is, in short, as busy as the individuals depicted.

And amid this industry, we find a society which values the household, not simply immediate family, but in-laws and adopted children, and which expresses affection between these individuals through gestures of touch and through the dedication of monuments to their loved ones. Through all these means, behind the odd-looking bodies, we see real people who lived busy lives filled with activity and with personal interaction, whose attitudes and relationships were characterized, above all, by social, cultural and familial flexibility which armed them for the challenges of a life in rural Phrygia.

⁵⁰ Cf. Schörner 2005, who sees the peasant monuments as a rejection of the Graeco-Roman styles which he views as forces of 'Romanization'. The frequency of peasant *stelai* which combine both forms surely points to the kind of cultural 'negotiation' he argues against.

⁵¹ Drew-Bear 1998: 396; Brixhe, Chapter 3 above.

6 | Households and families in Roman Phrygia

PETER THONEMANN

Epitaphs and social history

The study of Greek and Roman families in their regional contexts is still in its infancy. It has long been recognized that family and household structures have historically varied widely from region to region in the Mediterranean and mainland Europe. The same is likely to have been true in antiquity, but virtually no empirical work has been done which might confirm or refute this.¹ It is true that only in Egypt, thanks to the survival of a respectable number of census returns, do we have unimpeachable evidence for the demographic make-up of a statistically significant number of households.² However, proxy data (of a kind) can, with all due caution, be drawn from the tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of surviving funerary epitaphs from the Graeco-Roman world.³

Needless to say, the evidence provided by epitaphs gives us only very indirect access to the realities of ancient Greek and Roman families. There is no *a priori* reason to suppose that burial arrangements and commemorative practices bore any direct relation to family or household structures in any given region. Nonetheless, so long as one does not overemphasize the *statistical* significance of the data drawn from funerary monuments, it is surely possible to draw some *impressionistic* conclusions from commemorative practices. It is, for instance, hard to imagine that members of a society in which atomized nuclear families predominated would have chosen habitually to commemorate their dead with long, discursive funerary inscriptions listing the names of dozens of members of their extended families.

The example is not a random one. As we shall see, a large class of Phrygian funerary inscriptions, concentrated in and around the Upper Tembris valley in northern Phrygia, emphasize extended family – brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, sisters- and daughters-in-law – to an extent unparalleled in the funerary epigraphy of any other part of the Graeco-Roman world.

¹ Laslett 1983; Goody 1983. For regional studies, see e.g. Martin 1996 (Asia Minor); Edmondson 2005 (Lusitania).

² Bagnall and Frier 1994; for the Ptolemaic period, Clarysse and Thompson 2006.

³ Saller and Shaw 1984; *mise au point* in Huebner 2011.

It is possible that we are dealing here with a regional peculiarity (a local set of Phrygian kinship norms which survived under Roman hegemony). Alternatively, since northern Phrygia is virtually the only part of the Roman world where farmers, shepherds and other rural families habitually set up funerary inscriptions at all, this pattern of kinship may in fact have been characteristic of rural communities throughout the Roman world (or at least its Mediterranean parts).⁴ Either way, Phrygian funerary epigraphy clearly has much to contribute to our understanding of families and kinship in the provinces of the Roman Empire.

‘Nuclear’ families

Several thousand epitaphs survive from Roman Phrygia, predominantly of the second, third and fourth centuries AD. However, at least half of these derive from urban communities (Apameia, Hierapolis, Laodikeia, Eumeneia, Akmoneia), where extended families are very thinly represented in commemorative practices. At the major south-Phrygian city of Apameia-Kelainai, for example, a casual glance at the funerary epigraphy would give the overwhelming impression that Apameian families were all of the ‘nuclear’ type.⁵ Virtually all of the 120 or so surviving funerary inscriptions from the town were set up by a husband for his wife or vice versa, with the explicit or implicit expectation that the surviving partner and any under-age children would be buried in the same tomb.

However, things may not be as they seem. As a handful of inscriptions make clear, members of the extended family could only be admitted to the tomb of a nuclear couple at Apameia under exceptional circumstances; the right of burial in a brother’s tomb was regarded as a ‘gift’.⁶ It is clear, in particular, that once Apameian children ‘came of age’ they no longer had the legal right to be interred in their parents’ tomb. So Aurelius Ariston’s tomb was intended for himself, his wife, and his children ‘until they reach the age prescribed by law (ἐννομος ἡλικία)’; similarly, Frugillianus Auxanon stipulates that the ‘children of his blood’ have the right of burial ‘so long

⁴ Marble was cheap and widely available in Phrygia, thanks to Roman exploitation of the great quarries at Dokimeion and Soa: Drew-Bear, Thomas and Yıldızıturhan 1999; Masségla, Chapter 5 above; Niewöhner, Chapter 10 below.

⁵ Overview of Apameian epitaphs in Bresson 2011.

⁶ In MAMA VI 227, a brother and sister-in-law are exceptionally admitted to the tomb ‘by way of a gift’ (δῶρου χάριν); for this phrase – apparently only attested at Apameia – cf. MAMA VI 231 (a mother-in-law). Cf. also MAMA IV 364 and MAMA VI 222 (mothers-in-law); MAMA VI 230 (parents); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 476, no. 339 (mother); MAMA VI 235 (sister).

as they are minors (ἀνενήλικοι), but once they come of age they are not to disturb their parents' bones.⁷ The epitaph set up by Aurelia Tata for her husband Attalos is particularly explicit: a decade or so after her husband's death, she added an extra line to the epitaph, indicating that she had also interred her son Aur. Apphianos, 'who was without wife or child (ἀγύναιον καὶ ἄτεκνον)' – evidently Apphianos could only be admitted to his father's tomb because he had remained, in a sense, a 'minor'.⁸

Exactly why the Apameians should have chosen to limit their rights of burial in this way need not concern us. The point is that we are here demonstrably dealing with a normative funerary custom – if not a local funerary law – that will necessarily tend to give the immediate nuclear family a quite unnatural and misleading prominence in the local epigraphic record.

The case of Apameia is admittedly an extreme one. In the funerary epigraphy of other cities in southern and central Phrygia, we do find a much wider variety of family groups attested in single grave-plots (parents, siblings, aunts and uncles, nephews, grandchildren, sons- and daughters-in-law). Nonetheless, as at Apameia, nuclear family groups (husband and wife, under-age children) are still very clearly the norm: in urban communities, at least, the strong expectation was that children who survived until adulthood would be buried with their spouses, not their parents. So at Eumeneia, we find Aur. Alexandros reserving a place in his tomb for whichever of his daughters dies without children, and Cassius son of Teimotheos declaring that his tomb is for himself and his wife Apphia and no one else, 'unless my daughter Apphion suffers anything before coming of age'.⁹ Similarly, the Jewish owner of a tomb at Akmonia stipulates that it may be opened in order to inter his daughters Domna and Alexandria, 'but if they marry, it will not be permitted to open (it)'.¹⁰ One old man at Akmonia lamented

⁷ MAMA VI 207; MAMA VI 225. In MAMA VI 215, the two sons with the right of burial are said to be only 6 and 2 years old respectively.

⁸ MAMA VI 213. Aur. Apphianos was buried in 'Year 305' (= AD 220/1): his father Attalos does not carry the Aurelian *nomen*, suggesting that he died before AD 212 (cf. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 233–4).

⁹ MAMA XI 36 (earlier SEG 15, 811), ἡ ἄν ἄτεκνος ἐξ αὐτῶν τελε[υτ]ήσῃ; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 391, no. 254 (CIG 3902m), χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τι πάθῃ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου Ἀπφιον πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας. Contrast, however, MAMA XI 40 (Eumeneia), in which parents are willing to admit their daughter, her potential future husband (τῷ τ[υ]χόντι ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆ[ς]) and any ensuing children to their tomb. In two inscriptions, one of them certainly, the other possibly from Eumeneia, burial is conditional on the deceased's children remaining Christians: Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 57–8, no. 176 (SEG 6, 195): ἐὰν τηρή[σω]σι τὸν Θεόν; SEG 55, 1431: εἴ τις μου τῶν οἰκείων πιστεύσει.

¹⁰ MAMA VI 335 (Akmonia): ἐὰν δὲ γαμηθῇσονται, ἐξὸν οὐκ ἔσται ἀνῴσαι.

this vertical segregation of the generations in the urban centres of central and southern Phrygia: 'I, Onesimos, built this tomb for myself and my sweetest wife Aufidia while I was still living, and cut the inscription on the *stèle*; for my heirs have no care for the dead.'¹¹

Nonetheless, there is some reason to think that even in urban communities like Akmoneia and Eumeneia, these restrictive 'nuclear' burial customs did not fully reflect the reality of family and other affective relations. Several inscriptions from Akmoneia and Prymnessos refer to 'ancestral tombs' (*progonika mnēmeia*), or single burial-sites intended for many generations of a single family;¹² a single funerary monument from Akmoneia served to mark two separate graves for two brothers and their families.¹³ A curiosity of the funerary epigraphy of Eumeneia – a town with a large itinerant population of soldiers and others – is that in several instances, people set up tombs for their friends, or reserved a place for a friend in their family tomb.¹⁴ In one instance – where Aur. Nikeros reserves a place in his tomb for his friend Aur. Mannos, a Christian horse-archer from Edessa – we may be dealing with solidarity among Christians; but this is unlikely to apply to the epitaph of Aurelius Gaius, who constructed a tomb for himself, his wife, his mother, his excellent friend Onesimos and his wife; to the weaver Attalos, who set up the tombstone of his friend Iulius; or to Severus Argentis, who erected a *bōmos* for himself, his wife, his children, and the greengrocer Theodotos.¹⁵

The Phrygian 'norm': the extended multiple-family household

Typical households in Roman Phrygia – or at least in rural Phrygia – may well have been larger and more complex than much of the region's funerary

¹¹ MAMA VI 306; cf. MAMA IV 212 (Apameia).

¹² MAMA IV 27 (Waelkens 1986: 199, no. 492: Prymnessos): Aurelius Eirenaios constructs a tomb for himself, his parents, his wife, his children, and his female slave; MAMA VI 316 (Akmoneia): a grandson restores his grandfather's tomb for himself and his wife; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 655, no. 581 (Akmoneia): 'Eros son of Hermes constructed the memorial for himself and his wife Loukiane among their ancestral tombs' (ἐν τῷς προγονικοῖς).

¹³ MAMA VI 325; cf. MAMA XI 36 (Eumeneia: SEG 15, 811), where a single *bōmos* marks two graves at right-angles to one another.

¹⁴ Itinerant military population: Thonemann 2011a: 143–57.

¹⁵ Aur. Mannos: IGR IV 731 (Robert 1963: 361–5). Onesimos: MAMA XI 39 (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 385, no. 231; Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 423, n. 3). Attalos the weaver: MAMA IV 343. Theodotos the greengrocer: Drew-Bear 1978: 97–8, IV 34 (SEG 28, 1125). In MAMA IV 358, Aur. Agapomenos, who appears to have no direct family, admits a certain Aur. Artemidoros to his tomb. In Buckler, Calder and Cox 1926: 68–9, no. 192 (SEG 6, 219), no family relationship is indicated: 'I, Aur. Moschas, son of Alexandros, constructed the herōon for Aur. Alexandros son of Menekrates, just as he laid down in his will.'

epigraphy suggests. The crucial evidence comes from the rural communities of the Upper Tembris valley in northern Phrygia. This was a remote, thinly populated, but highly fertile district, which had never known any semblance of urban life. Since the first century BC, much of the upper Tembris region had been carved up into private and Imperial estates, worked by the inhabitants of numerous small, tight-knit villages. Crucially, the proximity of an important group of marble quarries near Soa, modern Altıntaş, ensured the ready availability of cheap marble offcuts, enabling families of relatively modest socioeconomic standing to commemorate themselves on stone.¹⁶

For a relatively brief period in the third and early fourth centuries AD, funerary monuments from the Upper Tembris valley regularly included long and elaborate inscriptions describing large, extended family groups. For whatever reason, the inhabitants of this region seem in their commemorative practices to have aimed to represent the *entirety* of the household unit. Needless to say, we have no way of knowing whether the familial structures of peasant households in this place and time were characteristic of all parts of rural Phrygia (let alone the urban centres of the region), or even of the Upper Tembris valley at an earlier date. Here is a typical verse inscription, from Çakırsaz, just north of Altıntaş:¹⁷

----- οὐδὶς [γὰρ] ἀθάνατος εἰ μὴ μό- νον ἱθεὸς αὐτός, ὁ πάντων γεν[έ]της καὶ πᾶσι τὰ πάντα μερίζων. οἵτιν[ες ἐν]θάδε κῖνται, ὧν τοῦνομα 5 γράμ[μασι] λήξω. <i>hed.</i> πρῶτον μὲν Τρόφιμον, μετέπιτα δ' Ἀντέρως υἱός, καὶ θυγάτηρ Γλύκη, Ἀλεξαν- δρία δὲ νύμφη καὶ ταύτης υἱὸς Εὐ- τυχιανός. τοῦτοις ζῶντες ἐ- 10 ποίησαν μνήμης χάριν ἔτι ζῶν- τες <i>hed.</i> Τροφίμου σύμβιος Ἥλιανή καὶ τούτων τὰ τέκνα Μακεδόνις καὶ Αὐξάνων καὶ Κυριακὴ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἡ νύμφη αὐτῶν Σιγερὶς <i>hed.</i> καὶ τὰ 15 ἐγγονα αὐτῶν Τρόφιμος καὶ Ἀντέρως [καὶ] Μακεδόνις καὶ Ζωτικός καὶ Μαρκιανή καὶ Νόννα ἐποίησαν μνήμης χάριν.	... for no one is immortal, except the One God himself, the creator of all things, distributing all things to all. Who they are who lie here, I shall tell their names by the inscription. First is Trophimos, and then Anteros his son, and his daughter Glyke, and his daughter-in-law Alexandria, and her son Eutychianos. The following made (the tomb) for them, while still living, in memory: Trophimos' wife Heliane and their children Makedonis and Auxanon and their daughter Kyriake and their daughter-in-law Sigeris and their grandchildren Trophimos and Anteros and Makedonis and Zotikos and Markiane and Nonna.
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¹⁶ On the Upper Tembris region, see above all MAMA X, xv–xlv; on estates, Mitchell 1993: I 158–9; Imperial quarries, Waelkens 1985.

¹⁷ Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 33, no. 249; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/13.

The first thing that strikes a reader of this text is the sheer size of Trophimos' immediate kinship group: his family consisted of up to sixteen persons, seven of them children. What is more interesting still is the fact that it is impossible to produce a definitive stemma of the family. Trophimos and Heliane had three sons (Anteros, Makedonis, Auxanon) and at least two daughters (Glyke and Kyriake). Both Glyke and Kyriake appear to be unmarried; it is likely enough that Trophimos had one or more other, married daughters, not listed in the inscription. Anteros died young, as did the wife of one of the three brothers, Alexandria, and her son Eutychanos (lines 6–9). The fact that Eutychanos is called 'her son' (ταύτης υἱός) rather than 'their son' (τούτων υἱός) strongly implies that Alexandria was not Anteros' wife, but was married to one of the other brothers, Makedonis or Auxanon. Another of the three brothers was married to a certain Sigeris (line 14), but we have no way of telling which, since the inscription does not group Sigeris with her husband, but with the other living female of her generation, Kyriake. The surviving grandchildren of Trophimos and Heliane (four boys, Trophimos, Anteros, Makedonis, Zotikos; two girls, Markiane and Nonna) are simply listed as such, not as the children of any given pair.

I suggest that the kinship group described by this inscription represents a single, *extended multiple-family household*.¹⁸ This is not stated explicitly in the text – and we could, in theory, be dealing with three or four residentially separate nuclear families, choosing to represent themselves as a single collectivity in this funerary context – but in that case it would be difficult to explain why the inscription separates conjugal couples both from one another and from their children.¹⁹ It is particularly striking that in each of the two parts of the inscription (lines 5–9, listing those buried in the tomb, and lines 11–17, those responsible for setting up the inscription), the individuals are listed first by age group (oldest first), then by gender (men first), and finally by degree of kinship (daughters first, then daughters-in-law). This is likely to reflect the reality of affective relations in the large Phrygian peasant family, in which conjugal and parental bonds – as we shall see – were less significant than groupings by age and gender.

Several other extended multiple-family households of this kind are known from northern Phrygia. For instance, an inscription copied at Kütahya reads as follows: 'Aur. Kyrilla (set this up) while still living for her husband Menandros and for her grandchildren Kyrilla and Tatiane, for Theodotos her *threptos* and for herself. Alexandros and Trophimos and their wives (*nynphai*)

¹⁸ The terminology derives from Laslett 1972a: 28–32.

¹⁹ On extended households in the Mediterranean as a 'latent principle', whether or not they live under a single roof, see Davis 1977: 168–76.

Domna and Domna, and Alexandria and Magna and all their grandchildren (*eggonoi*) (also set this up), *in memoriam*.²⁰ Here too, categorization by age group and gender takes priority over the indication of kin relationships: the two sons, Alexandros and Trophimos, are listed together, separately from their two wives, and the relationship of Alexandria and Magna (most likely unmarried daughters of Aur. Kyrilla and Menandros) to the other members of the household is not explicitly indicated. At Çakırsaz, near Altıntaş, Zosimos concludes his self-penned epitaph with a list of his descendants: ‘Makedonios and Patrikios, my sons who died young, and my grandsons who died young, Patrikios and Trophimos and Kyriakos, lie here. Hermes and Eutychios, along with the wives Ammia and Domna and Alexandria and Zosime, and our grandchildren Zotike and Ire and Trophime and Sophronis and Zosime and Auxanon, made this tomb for their parents, while they were still living.’ Presumably – although, once again, we are not told this explicitly – the four ‘wives’ (Ammia, Domna, Alexandria and Zosime) are in fact the wives of Zosimos’ two living sons, Hermes and Eutychios, and the widows of his two deceased sons, Makedonios and Patrikios. It is striking that Zosimos does not name any daughters of his: if they existed, presumably they had been successfully married off.²¹

The term used for a multiple-family kinship group of this kind seems to have been *syngeneia*. In a funerary epigram from Aykırıkçı in the Upper Tembris valley, the deceased’s *syngeneis* are distinguished from his *idioi* – and both, revealingly, are distinguished from ‘people not from round here’, *allopatriōtai*, a term apparently unattested elsewhere.²² The intended distinction is presumably between the deceased’s immediate kin, his *idioi* (wife and children) and his extended family, his *syngeneis* (brothers-in-law, nieces and nephews).²³ In a funerary epigram from Çakırsaz, the death of a young child, Kyrillos, is said to have brought grief to his parents, Eutychianos and Amarante, and ‘his whole *syngeneia*’: the *syngeneia* here consisted of two male relatives, Pappikios and Theodotos, probably his paternal uncles, along with their wives Agele and Matriona and their four

²⁰ CIG 3827r; LBW 821. Note the presence of the *threptos* as an integral part of the household: see below. The two wives of Alexandros and Trophimos happened to have the same name: cf.

Petrie 1906: 125–6, no. 7 (Zemme), in which at least two, perhaps three brothers were married to women called Ammia: Τρό[φ]ιμός τε Πατρίκιός τε Κύρι[λ]λος . . . σύμ μητρί κὲ νύμφης Ἀμμίαις.

²¹ Gibson 1978: 59–64, no. 25; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/91. For the ‘clustering’ of sons separately from their wives, cf. also Lochman 2003: 260, no. II 92 (SEG 53, 1539: Akça, Upper Tembris valley): Γάιο[ς] καὶ Μνησᾶς καὶ Αππίης καὶ Αμμίας νύμφαι.

²² Gibson 1978: 70–5, no. 27 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/87), μή τις ἐμῶν εἰδίων ἢ συγγενέων μνήματα λύσι ἢ τις τῶν ἄ[λ]λωπατριωτῶν ἔπιτα ὅστέα γυγμῶσι.

²³ That is to say, individuals conceived themselves *both* as part of nuclear families *and* of extended kinship groups: Goody 1972.

male children.²⁴ Here, too, we are not told which wife belongs to which husband, or which children to which parents. The term *syngeneia* is evidently a means of referring to this single extended household (here of the so-called *frèreche* type), consisting of these three brothers with their wives and children.²⁵

Extended households are intrinsically unstable, and we should presumably imagine that any given *syngeneia* would pass through repeated cycles of conglomeration and division over time. In Phrygia, each multi-family household, often containing three or more married brothers with their wives and children, only ever had a single 'patriarch'.²⁶ Necessarily, therefore, brothers must often have found themselves facing a division, temporary or permanent, of productive resources. Our clearest evidence for partitive inheritance in Phrygia derives from a unique and extraordinary inscription from the village of Aslanapa, near Kotiaion. 'Aur. Onesimos and Stratonikos and Trophimas received the portions which were assigned to them (τὰ ἐπιβαλόντα μέρη), and let no one make any further claim against anybody, either himself or through another. Aur. Papylos, son of Onesimos, and Appes, (set this up) while still living for their children Eugenios and Amias and their grandchildren Epiktetos and Eugenia and for themselves. And their children Papylos and Amianos (also set this up) for their father and mother, and Arde[mas] and Amias and Trophimos (also set this up) for their sweetest parents-in-law and brother-in-law, *in memoriam*. I, Aur. Papylos, bequeath the chest and the tools and the portions (μέρη) which were assigned to me to Papylos and Amianos; out of this I bequeath to Eutychiane and Appe 30 *metra* of *pyrokrithon* (wheat mixed with barley), and I bequeath to my wife 30 *metra* and a sheep.'²⁷ The funerary inscription of Aur. Papylos begins with a record of an old division of the family property between his own father and his two brothers; this is presumably

²⁴ Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 33–4, no. 250 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/85): λύπησεν δὲ γονῖς κὲ τὴν συγγένιαν ἄπασαν. For local usage of the term *syngeneia*, cf. also MAMA XI 139 (Eukarpia), with the curse-formula εἴ τις δὲ ἢ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας ἢ ἕτερον θάψει . . . ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

²⁵ On the *frèreche* multiple-family household, see Laslett 1972: 30–2; 280; 287–92; see also Masségli, Chapter 5 above.

²⁶ There does not seem to have been a single term for the male head of the extended household, though see SEG 40, 1249 (Tabbernee 1997: 300–4, no. 49), commemorating three generations of men called Zeno, among whom the senior male is distinguished as πάππας (cf. Robert 1963: 578, n. 1). In a few third- and fourth-century inscriptions, as in the text from Aslanapa quoted here, only the oldest male member of the family at any given time carries the Aurelian *nomen*, suggesting that 'Aur.' may, in rural Phrygia, have acted as an informal status marker within the household (like English 'Mr.').

²⁷ Anderson 1906: 212–4, no. 10 (MAMA X 272). This remarkable text warrants more detailed study than can be given here.

recalled in order to establish exactly what property Papylos now has the right to dispose of on his death. The estate itself, along with the family's strong-box and all the farm-tools, he bequeathes to his two surviving sons, Papylos and Amianos, no doubt with the expectation that they will divide it between them just as his own father and uncles had done. Out of this property he reserves what I assume is an annual 'pension' (30 *metra* of cereal produce *per annum*) for his widow and two unidentified women – perhaps his daughters, or his sisters-in-law?

Marriage: the ubiquitous daughter-in-law, the absent son-in-law

As I suggested above, the manner of representation of family groups in the funerary epigraphy of northern Phrygia strongly implies that conjugal and parental bonds within the Phrygian peasant household were less significant than groupings by age and gender. Certain curious aspects of Phrygian kinship terminology provide some support for this hypothesis. The term *νύμφη* (or *νύμφη*) is widely used in the funerary epigraphy of the region. The 'literal' meaning of the term is 'bride' or 'wife'; however, it is also regularly used in the sense 'daughter-in-law', as in the funerary inscription of Matrona, who died in childbirth aged fifteen and a half, 'granddaughter of Paulos and Aurelius, *nynphē* (i.e. daughter-in-law) of Marcianus, wife of Orestes'.²⁸ In a handful of inscriptions, the term clearly bears the meaning 'sister-in-law', and in at least one text – in which three brothers commemorate their father and 'our *nynphē* Pribis' – it appears to carry the meanings 'wife' (of one brother) and 'sister-in-law' (of the other two brothers) simultaneously.²⁹ This terminological interchangeability can only be explained on the assumption that the term *nynphē* is not in fact indicating a specific kinship relation at all, but is, instead, a term for a particular *category* of female within a large, multiple-family household (like the English 'maiden' or 'matron'). I suggest that the term signifies something like 'a young woman who has entered a household by marriage' – it never seems to be used of a woman of the oldest generation in a given household. This would help explain otherwise

²⁸ Wife: e.g. Petrie 1906: 125–6, no. 7 (above, n. 20); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 662, no. 621 (Diokleia); cf. *μελλοννυμφος*, 'fiancée', in Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/32/10 (Kotiaion).

Daughter-in-law: e.g. *MAMA* VI 363; *MAMA* VII 40; Anderson 1906: 227, no. 24. Matrona: *MAMA* I 301 (Atlanti). It was her father-in-law Marcianus, not her husband, who set up her tombstone.

²⁹ Sister-in-law: *MAMA* VII 82; *SEG* 34, 1221. 'Our *nynphe* Pribis': *MAMA* VII 578. See Calder 1910: 239; Naour 1984: 25–6 (*non vidi*).

puzzling usages like that which is found in an inscription from central Lydia, in which a young wife and mother is honoured posthumously by several members of her extended family, including her two sisters-in-law, who call her their ‘*synnymphos*’: that is to say, the three women were married to three brothers, and so held the common status of *nymphē* in this particular household.³⁰

It is highly telling that the terms ‘child’ (*teknon*) and ‘parent’ (*goneus*) were not restricted to biological kin, but could also be extended to daughters-in-law (and sons-in-law). So in an epitaph from Alibeyköy in the Upper Tembris valley, we read that ‘Aur. Kyrilla (set up this epitaph) for her husband Asklepiades and for herself, while still living, and *their children* (τὰ τέκνα <α> ὑπὸ τῶν) helped set this up, namely Asklepiades for his father and mother and Domna the *nymphē* for her parents-in-law (*hekyroi*), Christians for Christians, *in memoriam*.’³¹ Similarly, at the nearby village of Gecek, ‘Aur. Menas, the son, and Nanas the *nymphē*, honoured *their mother* (τὴν ἑαυτῶν μητέρα) Nana and sister Amion and *syntrophē* Amia, *in memoriam*; and Chryseros and Tation the *nymphē*, and Severus and Alexion and Menas the grandchildren (also) honoured them.’³² Of course, we are here dealing merely with a *façon de parler*, but it tends strongly to confirm my suggestion that kin-relations (in this case, biological parentage) were treated with a certain casualness in the Phrygian peasant household.³³ Age, gender and status place young married women in the ‘category’ of a daughter to her parents-in-law; the actual biological relationships based on consanguinity are relatively insignificant.

As we have seen, Phrygian society was very strongly patrilocal: sons tended to remain in their father’s establishment, and it was women who circulated from one household to another. As we would expect, therefore, the ‘son-in-law’ (*gambros*) is a relatively rare presence in Phrygian funerary epigraphy. Uxorilocal marriage seems to have occurred only in cases where a household

³⁰ TAM V 1, 775, with Keil and Premerstein 1907: 77–8; Neumann 1987 (on the related kinship-term *ianatēr*).

³¹ MAMA X 104 (Tabbernee 1997: 258–61, no. 39).

³² MAMA X 191: apparently two brothers (Aur. Menas and Chryseros) and their wives, with three children (Severus, Alexion, Menas) between them. Cf. also MAMA X p.191, no. 6 (Kurt Köy): Δαμῳγικός κὲ Ἀττας κὲ Ἀμίας κὲ Ἀππῆς κὲ Εὐημερίς νύμφη τοῦ <ς> ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς ἐτίμησαν; contrast SEG 28, 1088, where two νύμφαι are listed separately from five τέκνα. For sons-in-law, cf. Buckler, Calder and Cox 1925: 145–6, no. 128 (Kotiaion), τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Διόκληα κὲ Εὐτυχος κὲ Μήδιος κὲ Τρόφιμος γαμβρός κὲ Ἀμμίας νύμφη ἐτίμησαν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς. MAMA I 232 (Dedeler), where a son-in-law (γαμβρός) describes his father-in-law as τοκεύς. Huebner (2007: 31) wrongly interprets this as a case of adoption: see further below, n. 37.

³³ Similarly, a couple from northern Galatia described themselves as ‘father and mother’ to their *threptos*: RECAM II 250, with Riel 2009: 103. On *threptoi*, see further below.

possessed no male children; under those circumstances, with attendant concerns about inheritance, it seems to have been socially acceptable for men to move household.³⁴ A doorstone from the region of Uşak in central Phrygia commemorates a woman by the name of Sabis, whose four children were all girls. As a result, her two sons-in-law became part of her household: 'Aphion, the daughter; Athenodoros, the son-in-law; Domna, the daughter; Dometios, the son-in-law; [-]a and Alexandra, the daughters; Trophimas honoured Sabis, his own most splendid wife, *in memoriam*; Tation and Helleinos honoured their daughter, *in memoriam*.'³⁵ Similarly, at Eumeneia, a certain Iulia set up a funerary inscription 'for herself and her husband Damas and her daughter Iuliane and Gaius her son-in-law and Severeine her daughter'; I assume that Iuliane and Severeine were the only children of Iulia and Damas.³⁶ It is possible that in a few such cases, the 'imported' son-in-law was formally adopted by his wife's parents for reasons of inheritance, but there is only one clear example of this from inner Anatolia.³⁷

Marriage: age, custom

We have very little evidence for typical marriage-ages, although there are some indications that Phrygian girls may have been expected to marry and to have their first children at around the age of 16.³⁸ At a village on the territory of Apameia-Kelainai in southern Phrygia, Claudius Hylas set up a tombstone for his wife Agrippina, who died aged 18 after less than three years of marriage, suggesting that she had married at the age of 15 or 16.³⁹ Tata, a native of a village on the territory of Dionysopolis in south-western Phrygia, died aged 16, having been married for only five months, and at Dorylaion in northern Phrygia, Nana, an only daughter, died at 16 in her first confinement.⁴⁰ The youngest mother known to us is Matrona, from a

³⁴ Demographic evidence suggests that up to two-fifths of all Roman fathers did not have a son reach marriageable age (Scheidel 2009); but the normality of multiple-family households in Phrygia would have kept rates of uxoriality much lower than that.

³⁵ SEG 29, 1387; Waelkens 1986: 158, no. 397. ³⁶ Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 390, no. 247.

³⁷ RECAM II 303: υἱὸς θετοῦ καὶ γαμβρός, with Huebner 2007: 31–2. Huebner treats two further Phrygian uxorial marriages as instances of adoption. However, the first, the marriage of Aur. Ammias to the *threptos* Telesphoros (MAMA X 169; below, n. 47), is entirely different (a *threptos* is not 'an adopted son'); the second, where a son-in-law describes his father-in-law as τοκεύς (MAMA I 232; above, n. 32), is more likely to be an instance of the common 'idiom' of parentage for children-in-law.

³⁸ For the average age of marriage among sub-elite Romans, see Saller 1994: 25–41; Scheidel 2007.

³⁹ MAMA VI 205 (Dikici).

⁴⁰ MAMA IV 319 (Üçkuyu). MAMA V KB.3 (Dorylaion): πρῶτα λοχευσάμε[νη]. Both inscriptions seem to have been set up by the girl's parents; in neither case is the husband named, and Nana's orphaned child goes to her parents.

remote village in the southern Axylon, who died in childbirth aged fifteen and a half.⁴¹ A single instance is known of a girl who married significantly earlier, at the age of 11 (at a Phrygian-speaking village on the western fringe of the plateau); however, the fact that she died in childbirth aged 16 may suggest that her husband waited until the 'regular' age before trying to have children by her (no other children are mentioned).⁴² No doubt girls brought a dowry with them, though positive evidence from Phrygia is more or less non-existent.⁴³

It is still harder to generalize about age of marriage for men. At Aykırıkçı, in the Upper Tembris valley, a certain Sosthenes died at the age of thirty, having been married for only three years. However, Sosthenes may not have been typical: when his own grandfather-in-law Domnos died at or around the age of 60, the youngest of Domnos' three sons had had ten children, of whom the eldest son was already married, implying that male members of this particular family were normally becoming parents before their twentieth birthday.⁴⁴

Most peasant marriages were probably contracted at the village level.⁴⁵ Early Christian funerary inscriptions from the Upper Tembris valley show us young men and women marrying family friends, members of their own extended family, or people who had been reared in the same household (*threptoi*; see further below). At Aykırıkçı, a presbyter by the name of Alexandros married his daughter Kyrilla to one Sosthenes, the son of Kyrilla's godparents, Sosthas and Domna.⁴⁶ A couple by the names of Aur. Marion and Apphia brought up their two sons, Titus and Asklepiades, alongside

⁴¹ MAMA I 301 (Atlanti). The inscription was set up by her father-in-law Marcianus.

⁴² MAMA VII 258, with SEG 30, 1488 (Aşağı Piribeyli); Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/43/04. The inscription was set up by her husband, Quadratus, and concludes with an imprecation in the Phrygian language. The ancient site at Aşağı Piribeyli seems to have been a village on the territory of Amorion: *TIB Galatien* 134, s.v. Aşağı Piribeyli, followed by Brixhe and Drew-Bear 1997: 105–10. The village was clearly Phrygian-speaking (cf. MAMA VII 259 and 259a), and had its own doorstone-workshop (Waelkens 1986: 216–20).

⁴³ At Akmoneia, Ammia set up a tombstone for herself and her husband 'from her dowry': MAMA VI 287 (Waelkens 1986: 169, no. 421).

⁴⁴ Gibson 1978: 76–84, nos. 28–9; Tabbernee 1997: 394–401, no. 62 (Sosthenes) and 371–85, no. 60 (Domnos). At Lamounia, west of Dorylaion, Rufus, explicitly described as unmarried (ἄρκατος), died at the age of 25 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/33/04). If burial by parents rather than spouse is a reliable indication of marital status (Scheidel 2007), then we can assume that the brothers Onesimos and Patrikios, who died aged 25 and 18 respectively (Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 24–5, no. 236: Çayırbaşı), and Leontios, who died aged 19 (SEG 28, 1101: Çömlekçi), were also unmarried.

⁴⁵ Kallisto, a native of Kissamos on Crete, who died near Appia in the Upper Tembris valley, is an exceptional case (Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 35–6, no. 251); but she may have come to Anatolia with her husband.

⁴⁶ Gibson 1978: 76–9, no. 28; Tabbernee 1997: 394–401, no. 62. I assume that the term σύντεκνος here has its Christian meaning of 'godparent to one's child': Macrides 1987; Rapp 1997: 300–4.

a *threptē*, Ammia, who later went on to become Titus' wife; at another nearby village, Aur. Tatia and Aur. Trophimos married their daughter Aur. Ammias – perhaps their sole child – to their own *threptos* Telesphoros.⁴⁷ A Christian widower, Akakios, gave his sole child, a daughter, in marriage to her cousin Trophimos, 'in the hope of being cared for in his old age'.⁴⁸ Most revealing of all is the funerary *stele* of an extended family from Diokleia, in central Phrygia.⁴⁹

	Τιμόθεε Εὐκλέους·	Timotheos son of Eukles;
	Τατία Ἰπποστράτου,	Tatia daughter of Hippostratos,
	γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ Τειμοθέου·	and wife of Timotheos;
	Εὐκλῆ Τειμοθέου·	Eukles son of Timotheos;
5	Ψυχίον Ῥησιμάχου,	Psychion daughter of Rhesimachos,
	γυνὴ δὲ Εὐκλέως·	and wife of Eukles;
	Ῥησίμαχε Τειμοθέου·	Rhesimachos son of Timotheos;
	Τειμόθεε<ε> Ῥησιμάχου·	Timotheos son of Rhesimachos;
	Κώκαρε Τειμοθέου·	Kokaros son of Timotheos;
10	Μελτίνη Τιμοθέου·	Meltine daughter of Timotheos;
	Ἀπφία Τιμοθέου·	Apphia daughter of Timotheos;
	Εὐκλῆ Εὐκλέως.	Eukles son of Eukles.

Although it is not possible to establish a definitive stemma of this family, its general shape is clear enough. Timotheos son of Eukles and Tatia daughter of Hippostratos appear to be the senior living members of the household (lines 1–3). They had five children, Eukles (line 3), Rhesimachos (line 7), Kokaros, Meltine and Apphia (lines 9–11); as usual, the two daughters are listed last. The eldest of the five siblings, Eukles, was married to a certain Psychion daughter of Rhesimachos (lines 5–6), by whom he had a son, also named Eukles (line 12). One further individual, Timotheos son of Rhesimachos (perhaps a brother of Psychion), is also listed. It is suggestive that Eukles, the eldest son, married a woman whose father carried the same rare name (Rhesimachos) as his younger brother. The most likely explanation is that Psychion was Eukles' first cousin, the daughter of a putative brother of the household patriarch Timotheos (Fig. 6.1). At any rate, Eukles clearly married close to home.

⁴⁷ Son and *threptē*: Waelkens 1986: 107–9, no. 252. Daughter and *threptos*: MAMA X 169, with *stemma* (and cf. Buckler, Calder and Cox 1927: no. 230 (Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/93)). See Riel 2009: 103–4. Huebner 2007: 31 wrongly interprets the latter instance as a case of adoption: see further above, n. 37.

⁴⁸ Calder 1955: 31–3 (*SEG* 15, 796); *SEG* 30, 1484; Mitchell 1993: II 106.

⁴⁹ MAMA VI 353 (Ahırhisar-Yeşilhisar), with Robert 1963: 312–16.

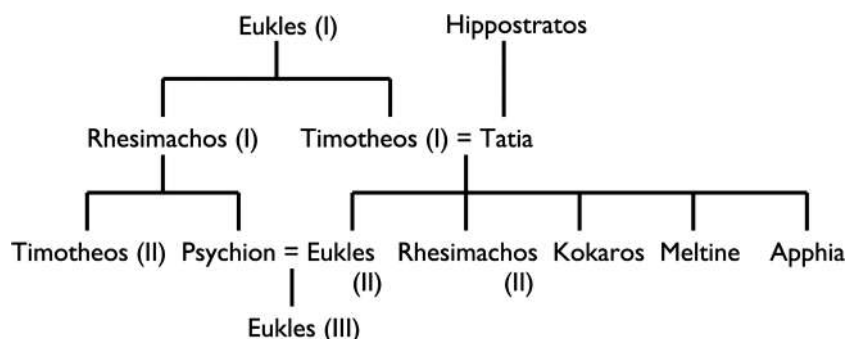


Figure 6.1. The extended family of Timotheos of Diokleia.

Children: sons and daughters

As we have already seen, Phrygian peasant families were big; three or four sons were quite normal, and it was not uncommon for a single couple to have ten children or more.⁵⁰ So at Akçaköy, near Appia in the Upper Tembris valley, a certain Menandros died at the age of 40, leaving behind him eight living children, five daughters and (apparently) three sons, the youngest of them still an infant.⁵¹ We have already met the patriarch Domnos from Aykırıkçı, who died at or around the age of 60; he lived to see seventeen grandchildren from his three sons (no fewer than ten of them born to his youngest son, Alexandros), of whom at least two had already married themselves by the time of his death.⁵² To a large degree, a wife's virtue resided in her fertility, as is explicit in an inscription for an unnamed woman from Akmoneia: 'Loukios (set this up) for his most revered wife. She was born in Year 161 (AD 76/7), lived nobly, left behind her on earth four sons and a

⁵⁰ Cf. Patlagean 1978, arguing for an average of six children per family, of whom four would have survived their earliest years. Destephen 2010: 137–9 argues that estimates of this kind are impossible.

⁵¹ *MAMA* X 169; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/83. In B21–3, the phrase Πατρικίς κὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κὲ Δημήτριος ὃν τε νοῖπτιον ἄσσα (i.e. ἔασα) presumably means that only Demetrios was still an infant, although in *MAMA* X 219 the term νήπιος is used of an eight-year-old. Cf. *MAMA* VI 368 (Altıntaş; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/75), the tomb of a mother who died leaving four infants (νήπια ἔτι νῦν), despite only having lived with her husband a short time (χρόνον ὀλίγον).

⁵² Gibson 1978: 80–4, no. 29; Tabbernee 1997: 371–85, no. 60. The round number '60' may reflect age-rounding for metrical convenience: Mitchell 1993: II 105, n. 437. See also e.g. Gibson 1978: 19–21, no. 8 (*SEG* 28, 1104): five brothers and five sisters; Gibson 1978: 37–40, no. 16 (*SEG* 28, 1101): four brothers; Gibson 1978: 50–1, no. 19 (*SEG* 28, 1100): three brothers and three sisters; *SEG* 40, 1249: four brothers and three sisters; Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 25, no. 237: five brothers and two sisters.

daughter, died in Year 198 (AD 113/14).⁵³ In part, these large families must have been a response to high mortality rates: Aurelia Rufina was predeceased by her husband and five of her six children (two of whom carried the same name, Beroneikianos and, after his death, ‘another Beroneikianos’).⁵⁴ However, no less important was surely the desire to maximize the size of the household workforce: children can be put to productive work in a rural context at a very early age.⁵⁵ Remarriage and further childbearing after the death of a spouse seems to have been normal. At Karbasan, north-west of Eumeneia, Aur. Tatia set up a tombstone for her husband Tryphon, ‘in which she too will be placed, and their common children (τὰ κοινὰ αὐτῶν τέκνα)’ – clearly the household included one or more children from a previous marriage.⁵⁶

In affective contexts, it is sometimes made explicit that male children were valued more highly than female children, as in a verse epitaph of the late third century AD from Doğanlar:⁵⁷

	Γεναδίῳ τῷ πᾶσι προθήτῳ	For Genadios, longed-for by all.
	[ν]ήπιος ὀκταέτης ἔθανον	‘I died an infant, eight years old,
	τοὺς δ’ ἔλεεινοτάτους	and my most pitiable parents I
	[γ]ονί[ς μ]ου ἔασα ἐν ΥΛΑΙC[–]	left in [grief], for whom, because of
5	[ο]ῖς διὰ τὴν περὶ ἔμοῦ λύπην	their grief for me, the bright sun
	ὁ ἥλιος λανπρός οὐκέτι λάνπῃ	no longer shines, as they bewail
	κλαιόντων κὲ ζητούντων τὸ τέκνον	and seek after their longed-for child.’
	τὸ ποθητόν. Αὐρ. Δαδης κὲ Ἀφίανῃ{ς}	Aur. Dades (II) and Apphiane (set this
	Γεναδίῳ κὲ Ρουφίνῃ κὲ Εὐτυχιανῇ	up) for Genadios and Rouphe and
10	τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις νηπίοις	Eutychiane, their sweetest infant
	κὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἔτι ζῶντες μνήμης	children, and for themselves, while
	χάριν.	they were still living, <i>in memoriam</i> .
	Δαδης κὲ Ἐ[λπί]ζων Δαδῇ πατρὶ κὲ	Dades (II) and Elpizon for Dades (I)
	Κυρίλλῃ	
	μητρὶ κὲ Τ[ρο]φίμῳ ἁ[δ]ελφῶ	their father and Kyrille their mother

⁵³ Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 656, no. 590.

⁵⁴ Anderson 1906: 216, no. 14 (MAMA X 168). Children were not named immediately after their birth: cf. Waelkens 1986: 107–9, no. 252, mentioning a nameless *brephion* (baby) who lived only a few days.

⁵⁵ On child agricultural labour in the Roman world, see Laes 2011: 206–12; other societies, Lancy 2008: 103–5, 234–71.

⁵⁶ MAMA IV 339. In MAMA IV 221 (Apollonia), a second wife helps set up a tombstone for her husband ‘and his first wife’ (τῇ γυνεὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ). Cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 475, no. 334 (IGR IV 802, BE 1939, 425: Apameia): Proclianus Trypho builds a tomb for his wife Caecilia Ammia, ‘into which no one else will be placed except me and my subsequent wife Aeliana’ – he appears to have remarried quickly. For Proclianus’ children by his second wife, cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 467, no. 304 (IGR IV 784).

⁵⁷ MAMA X 219; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/31/77.

- 15 κέ Τ<ρ>ύφων[ι ἄ]δελφῷ μ[ν]ή- and Trophimos their brother and
 μης χάριν. Tryphon their brother, *in memoriam*.

This household included four adult brothers, Dades (II), Elpizon, Trophimos and Tryphon, the four sons of Dades (I) and Kyrille. The tombstone was set up by Dades (II) and his wife Apphiane for their deceased son, Genadios, who is lamented at some length. Two daughters of Dades (II) and Apphiane, Rousphine and Eutychiane, also died young and were buried at the same time in the same tomb, but receive no such lament.⁵⁸ However, this ought not to be regarded as a generalized disregard for girls and women in this society. Wives and mothers are prominently named and honoured in Phrygian funerary epigraphy, and women and their possessions are depicted on funerary reliefs quite as often as men. It seems specifically to have been young unmarried daughters who were socially undervalued, as being most likely to move outside the *syngeneia*.

Slaves and *threptoi*

Wealthier Phrygian households also included a number of slaves, freedmen and other dependent individuals of various statuses. An inscription from a village near Eumeneia gives us a sense of the kind of household that a well-off Phrygian family might maintain.⁵⁹

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Αὐρήλιος [Εὐτυχος]
 τετράκις τοῦ Ἀν[τ]ων[ί]-
 ου, Αὐρηλία Μ[έ]λλισα
 δὲ Ἀτταλικοῦ κατε[σ]-
 5 κεύασαμεν τὸ ἡρῶν[ον]
 Χαριτίνῃ προ<ο>ίκῳ θ[ῆ] ἄ]-
 πτελευθέρῃ Εὐτύχ[ου],
 Ἰπποδαμίᾳ τῇ τε-
 θερεμμένη ἡμῶν,
 10 Συμφορίδῃ τῇ ἀμμῇ.
 ἡμῶν, Συμφώρ[ω, Συμ]-
 φορίδῃ, Ζωτικῷ· [κατε]-</p> | <p>We, Aurelius [Eutychos], fourth
 of that name, great-great-grandson of
 Antonius, (and) Aurelia Mellisa,
 granddaughter of Attalikos,
 constructed the herōon for
 Charitine our household manager, the
 freedwoman of Eutychos,
 and for Hippodamia, our
 <i>threptē</i> (reared in our household)
 and Symphoris, our nurse,
 and Symphoros, Symphoris,
 Zotikos. We constructed</p> |
|--|---|

⁵⁸ The parents of Dades (II) and two of his four brothers were subsequently interred in the same tomb (lines 13–16, a later addendum).

⁵⁹ Drew-Bear 1978: 93–4, no. 29 (*SEG* 28, 1154), from Koçak. In lines 6–7, Drew-Bear wrongly restores Χαρίτιν ἢ πρόικως [τῇ ἄ]πτελευθέρῃ Εὐτύχ[ίῳ], and hence is unable to restore the name in line 1: I have corrected both passages.

	σκευάσαμε[ν τοῖς]	this (tomb) for the above-
	προγεγραμμ[ένοις]	named to be interred,
15	τεθῆναι ἄορ[οις].	having died before their time.

The household of Eutychos and Mellisa included at least five, maybe six servants: the senior housekeeper, Charitine, a former slave who had been freed by Eutychos; Symphoris, apparently the household's full-time nurse (*ammē*), and three further named individuals (Symphoros, Symphoris, Zotikos), who were probably all slaves.⁶⁰ It is striking that no direct relatives of Eutychos or Mellisa are commemorated in the inscription, suggesting that in this particular household, at least, kin and non-kin members were buried and commemorated separately.⁶¹

One member of the household deserves particular attention: Hippodameia, defined only as having been 'reared in the household'. The *threptos* or *threptē*, a boy or girl who was reared by people other than his or her natural parents, is a very common figure in the epigraphy of Phrygia and north-east Lydia.⁶² Like *nymphē*, the term *threptos* (as used in inner Anatolia) has no direct equivalent in either Latin or English; the connotations of terms like 'foundling', 'foster-child', or '*alumnus*' are quite different. *Threptoi* in inner Anatolia seem seldom to have been abandoned or exposed by their parents, and the term carried no distinctive status-connotations.⁶³ Crucially, we have clear examples of children being reared both by families of lower and higher status than their natural parents, with no apparent distinction in terminology. So in an inscription from Akmoneia, the daughter of two slaves seems to have been the *threptē* of her mother's owner, Lucius Apelles: 'Epikte, slave of Lucius, and her husband Photeinos, built this tomb for their daughter Raponilla, *in memoriam*; the burial-place was granted by Lucius Apelles, her rearer (τοῦ θρέψαντος αὐτῆς)'; conversely, at Aizanoi, a child who died at the age of eight was mourned both by his freeborn parents

⁶⁰ We do not know how many slaves a prosperous Anatolian family might have possessed. In TAM V 1, 433 (north-east Lydia), a relatively small household (three children) seems to have included no fewer than six slaves.

⁶¹ Contrast e.g. MAMA IV 27 (above, n. 12), where a single female slave is admitted to a family tomb.

⁶² Cameron 1939; Nani 1943–4; Sacco 1980; MAMA IX, lxiv–lxvi; Ricl 2009. The institution disappears in Late Antiquity (Destephen 2010: 145); it is relatively rare in the epigraphy of the Upper Tembris valley.

⁶³ The *threptoi* of Phrygia and north-east Lydia ought therefore to be treated separately from the exposed children of Egypt and mainland Greece: Ricl 2009: 94–101. On exposure, see now Harper 2011: 81–3, 391–423.

and the slave couple, Philodespotos and Fadilla, to whom he had been given for rearing.⁶⁴

The circulation – whether temporary or permanent – of children between households seems not to have been an occasional or exceptional phenomenon, but an absolutely normal feature of Phrygian rural and urban society. The ubiquity of the *threptos* therefore tends to confirm the hypothesis offered above concerning the character of the Phrygian peasant family, namely that conjugal and parental bonds were generally less significant than groupings by age and gender.

Conclusion

It is important to be clear about what the epigraphic evidence from Phrygia cannot tell us. Most importantly, it provides us with *no* data which a modern demographer or anthropologist would recognize as statistically meaningful.⁶⁵ Indications of age at marriage and death are sporadic and whimsical; comprehensive registers of family groups and households seem – so far as we can tell – to be extremely unusual; there is not even any way of being certain that the selection of individuals in any given funerary inscription reflects significant affective relations, rather than normative local burial customs (e.g. the exclusion of adult children).

Still, there is no need to despair. All that this means is that the reconstruction of Phrygian families and households is an art, not a science. Burial practices clearly mean *something*. If funerary inscriptions consistently describe small, nuclear families in urban contexts, and enormous extended families in rural contexts, we would be ill-advised to claim that urban and rural families in Phrygia took a single homogeneous form. If we can discern – as I suggest we can in the Upper Tembris valley – a consistent lack of interest in distinguishing precise kinship relations within these extended families, then a social historian of rural Phrygia would be well advised to pay careful attention to age groups. If a single term, such as *threptos* or *nymphē*, is used indiscriminately to describe categories of individuals which the Latin language and Roman law distinguish most precisely, then we can hardly claim that adoption, fosterage and patrilocal marriage practices took the same form in Phrygia as they did in Rome.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ MAMA VI 276; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/23/11 (Aizanoi).

⁶⁵ Destephen 2010 (ending in *aporia*). ⁶⁶ Cf. Corbier 1999, esp. 23–8.

‘When the evidence is inadequate it is sometimes necessary to take the merest hint as the basis for inferences which are strictly speaking illegitimate. No apologies are offered, [since] the common assumption seems to have been that families are much of a muchness and do not require detailed study . . . If the speculation is dubious it may none the less lead future ethnographers to a higher awareness of variation in family relationships, even if they wish only to refute or qualify what is said here.’⁶⁷ The experiences of being a father, a wife, or a foster-child were not the same everywhere in the Roman world – they were not even the same everywhere in Phrygia. We should insist on the specificity of these experiences: even if we cannot quantify the differences, we can at least aim to describe them with some sensitivity, and perhaps even to explain why they matter.

⁶⁷ Davis 1977: 196.

7 | Law in Roman Phrygia: rules and jurisdictions*

GEORGY KANTOR

Outlining the problems

In this chapter I shall discuss legal institutions in Phrygia during the period from the establishment of direct Roman rule in the region in the late second century BC to the first half of the third century AD, when Roman citizenship was extended to all free inhabitants of the provinces by the emperor Caracalla, and the administrative structure of the Roman province of Asia began to change more substantially than at any point during the preceding three hundred years. I shall begin with an analytical survey of the available evidence for the system of justice and its practitioners in the region, before moving on to the rather more limited information for the interplay of Roman and local rules in the sphere of substantive law.

We need to ask an uncomfortable question at the outset: is ‘law in Roman Phrygia’ in the Late Republic and early Empire a proper subject of enquiry? This is, of course, part of a wider methodological problem – what is the ‘intelligible field of study’ (to use A. J. Toynbee’s well-known expression) in the history of law in the Roman provinces? Some important recent contributions have revived the notions of the unity of Hellenistic Greek law in some of its key aspects, and the essential uniformity of the Roman approach to local jurisdiction; however, few would now argue that we can follow Ludwig Mitteis in treating the whole of the Roman East as a unity.¹ Are we justified, therefore, in going below the provincial level and trying to

* I am grateful to Peter Thonemann for inviting me to contribute to the volume, for his editorial suggestions, and for sharing with me his photograph of SEG 53, 1517, and to the conference participants, in particular to Charles Crowther, Stephen Mitchell and John Wilkes, for their comments on the first version of this chapter.

¹ On the unity of Greek law, famously called into question by Moses Finley (Finley 1966 [1975]), see now Gagarin 2005 (suggesting more uniformity in the field of procedural law), and for the possibility of greater legal unity among new Hellenistic foundations, most recently Murray 2005: 203. For Mitteis’ view, Mitteis 1891: 4–6. For the view that the Roman approach to local law and jurisdiction in the eastern Mediterranean was unsystematic and driven by local concerns, which led to serious inconsistencies between different regions, see Kantor 2010; an earlier drive towards uniformity of approach is suggested in Fournier 2010, who nonetheless emphasizes that civic legal institutions themselves were never standardized.

discern differences between different regions of the province of Asia? And is there sufficient evidence to do so?

Answers to these questions are not unproblematic. Evidence for law and legal practice in the province of Asia, and in Roman Asia Minor more generally, tends to come overwhelmingly from the more urbanized coastal part of the peninsula. Any treatment of the exercise of Roman jurisdiction in inner Anatolia, or of legal rules in place there under the Empire, will inevitably be sketchy and incomplete in comparison with what can be written about, for instance, Ephesos or Pergamon. Furthermore, for most of the period we are dealing with, it is not entirely clear what was understood as 'Phrygia' by the Roman government, and what relationship this entity might have borne to the wider jurisdictional structures of the Roman province. On the face of it, as famously stated by Strabo (whose evidence will be discussed below), the organization of Roman jurisdiction in Asia Minor ignored traditional ethnic and cultural regions, such as Phrygia, and substituted for them what was seemingly an entirely artificial system. Is it proper, then, when dealing with the legal sphere, to speak of 'Roman Phrygia' at all, at least for the period before the creation of the procuratorial district of Phrygia in the High Empire?

Nevertheless, as will be argued below, we do have good evidence to suggest that some of the problems in the practical operation of law and justice, if not strictly unique to Phrygia, nonetheless distinguished it from other parts of the province of Asia (or, for that matter, Cilicia, to which it was briefly attached in the Late Republican period). Furthermore, the continued use for certain administrative (and judicial) purposes of administrative divisions based on the traditional regions of Asia Minor in the High Empire shows a recognition of their continuing vitality. Even though precise understanding of the exact administrative meaning of 'Phrygia' and of its significance in the legal sphere may remain elusive, this should not inhibit us from discussing the particular problems which inhabitants of the region may have had in accessing Roman justice, and which Roman governors, for their part, certainly experienced in exercising their jurisdiction there.

The underlying regional characteristics of Phrygia, and the particular problems which they caused for the application of the model of jurisdiction used elsewhere in the province of Asia, have an objective historical existence whether they were in fact consciously recognized by Rome or not. Indeed, the very lack of recognition of these problems by Rome is arguably key to understanding the history of law and justice in Phrygia in the Roman period, rather than a reason to avoid discussing them altogether. However, both the limitations of our evidence and the fact of Phrygia belonging to a

wider administrative unit mean that the organization of justice in Phrygia can only be treated against a wider provincial background. I shall argue, furthermore, that the notion of there being anything distinctively ‘Phrygian’ (as opposed to ‘in Phrygia’) in the legal sphere, particularly in the substantive law, during this period is substantially more problematic.

Justice and its practitioners

The first court introduced in the province of Asia after the Roman annexation of the former Pergamene kingdom, the court of the proconsul, remained central to Roman jurisdiction throughout the period discussed in this chapter, and Phrygia, so far as our evidence goes, seems to have been no exception. For specific areas of competence the proconsul was helped by his subordinates, the legates, and by the provincial quaestor (responsible mostly for trade law), whose courts were closely modelled on his own. As Cicero told his brother Quintus – who, as we know from another passage in their correspondence, exercised his jurisdiction in Phrygia on at least one occasion – the governor’s duties in that province ‘consisted entirely of jurisdiction’.² Although our evidence for Phrygia is very limited compared with the coastal parts of Roman Asia Minor, both literary and epigraphic sources strongly suggest that the assize tour of the proconsul, during which he visited the centres of jurisdiction districts (*conuentus*) of his province to dispense justice, especially to Roman citizens, was one of the more important annual events in the life of Phrygian cities.³

It would be apposite to open our survey with perhaps the most often quoted passage concerning the impact of proconsular assize sessions on a local community, coming from a speech of the Bithynian orator Dio Chrysostom delivered at Apameia-Kelainai, one of the assize centres for Phrygia, in or around AD 100.⁴

² Cic. *Q Fr.* 1.1.20 (= 1 Shackleton Bailey): *ea tota iurisdictione maxime sustineri*. For Quintus Cicero intending to punish a certain Zeuxis ‘in the upper part of the province’ (*in superiore parte prouinciae*), see *Q Fr.* 1.2.5 (= 2 Shackleton Bailey). The phrase ‘upper part’ usually denotes Phrygia in this context, cf. e.g. Aristid. *Or.* 50.78, on the proconsul Iulius Severus conducting assizes ‘in the Upper Districts’ of the province in the winter of AD 152/3 (compare *Or.* 50.103 for ‘Upper Phrygia’, perhaps a more narrow definition).

³ Although the system of *conuentus* is perhaps best known for the province of Asia, for which important evidence survives both in epigraphic and in literary sources, it also existed in many (if not necessarily all) other Roman provinces, including, in Asia Minor, at least Pontus-Bithynia, Cilicia and Lycia-Pamphylia. See in general Burton 1975; Haensch 1997: 307–12; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 227–37.

⁴ On this passage and its date and implications, cf. C. P. Jones 1978: 67–9; Heller 2006: 137–9; Thonemann 2011a: 103–9; for a detailed commentary, see now Bost Pouderon 2006: II 103–7.

And what is more, the courts are in session annually among you, and they bring together an innumerable multitude of people – litigants, judges, orators, governors, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, shopkeepers, prostitutes, and craftsmen. Consequently not only can those who have goods to sell obtain the highest prices, but also nothing is idle in the city, neither the teams, nor the houses, nor the women. And this contributes not a little to prosperity; for wherever the largest crowd of people comes together, there necessarily we find money in greatest abundance, and it stands to reason that the place should thrive . . . So it is, you see, that the business of the courts is deemed of highest importance towards a city's strength and everybody is interested in it above everything else.⁵

Not all the details in Dio's description are clear (in particular, as will be discussed below, the translation of παρ' ἔτος as 'annually' remains debatable), but the big picture of visitors to the assizes making substantial contribution to the economic prosperity of the city is further confirmed (if with rather different moral emphasis) by shorter passages elsewhere in Dio's own orations and in Plutarch's *Moralia* concerning assize sessions elsewhere in Asia Minor.⁶ While it is of course impossible to prove (and probably even unlikely) that the assizes always brought such beneficial economic effects, it is important from our perspective that the benefits of being an assize city could be conceptualized in such bluntly pragmatic terms (even if, as some scholars suggest, not without a touch of irony and mild moralistic condemnation).⁷ This is more 'New Institutional Economics' than a discussion of honour accruing to the city, or even of the city's judicial power over its neighbours and benefits for the administration of justice (to which Dio did allude in his other speeches). For the latter theme, we can look to the late third-century AD advice on composing a speech for the governor's arrival for the assize session (ἐπιβατήριος) – ascribed to a native of one of the Phrygian assize centres, Menander from Laodikeia on the Lykos – who recommends the hypothetical orator to 'take the evidence of the neighbouring

⁵ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 35.15–17: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ δίκαι παρ' ἔτος ἄγονται παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ξυνάγεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπειρον δικαζομένων, δικαζόντων, ῥητόρων, ἡγεμόνων, ὑπηρετών, οἰκετῶν, μαστροπῶν, ὀρεοκόμων, καπηλίων, ἑταιρῶν τε καὶ βαναύσων· ὥστε τὰ τε ὧνα τοὺς ἔχοντας πλείστης ἀποδίδοσθαι τιμῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἄργον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μήτε τὰ ζεύγη μήτε τὰς οἰκίας μήτε τὰς γυναῖκας. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ σμικρὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν πλείστος ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ξυνήῃ, πλείστον ἀργύριον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖ γίγνεται, καὶ τὸν τόπον εἰκὸς εὐθηνεῖν· < . . . > τοιγαροῦν μέγιστον νομίζεται πρὸς ἰσχύιν πόλεως τὸ τῶν δικῶν καὶ πάντες ἐσπουδάκασιν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς οὔτω (based on Loeb tr. by H. Lamar Crosby).

⁶ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.47, with the observations of Desideri 1978: 462, n. 11 (Tarsos in Cilicia); Plut. *Mor.* 501E (perhaps concerning Smyrna in the province of Asia, cf. Lane Fox 1986: 484–6).

⁷ For a possible ironic reading, Zambrini 1994.

peoples, who regard the city as a standard of justice and come to conduct their legal affairs with us', when praising the city for its characteristic justice.⁸

Furthermore, returning to the economic impact, we know from the epigraphic record that, regardless of whether the crowds of visitors were necessarily bringing trade and prosperity, practical measures were needed on the city government's part to accommodate them. So, for example, at Apameia itself Tiberius Claudius Piso Mithridatianus, member of a distinguished local family, was honoured in c. AD 160 for serving as gymnasiarch, ephebach and *agoranomos* (overseer of the market-place) at the time of the assizes 'at his own expense', and providing oil (for baths and/or the gymnasium) during the same period; his son, Tiberius Claudius Granianus, is also honoured for serving as a gymnasiarch during the assizes at his father's expense.⁹ At another Phrygian assize centre, Aizanoi, an honorary decree for an important local notable of the reign of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Ulpus Appuleianus Eurycles (later his city's delegate to the Panhellenion), mentioned among his other benefactions that 'during the shortage of bread he brought down the price and generously supplied a largess of corn for (the province of) Asia and the city when Cornelius Latinianus was conducting the assizes'.¹⁰ This last example obviously shows that the influx of strangers for the assize session and the concomitant rise in prices could equally well exacerbate an emergency, but the basic importance of the assizes for the local economy is once again clear. Either in the month in which the assizes took place or – if we follow the less likely view of those scholars who take παρ' ἔτος in Dio Chrysostom (quoted above) to mean 'biennially' – in the year in which the proconsul was coming to a particular assize centre, civic officials evidently needed additional resources to perform their duties.¹¹

⁸ Men. Rhet. p. 385.9–13 Spengel: Δικαιοσύνην· ἐν ἣ μαρτυρίαν λήψη τῶν περιοίκων, ὅτι ταύτην ἡγούμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὅρον εἶναι δικαιοσύνης ἡκουσι παρ' ἡμῶς δικασόμενοι (tr. Russell and Wilson 1981).

⁹ *MAMA* VI 180, I.6–8; II.4–7; 10–11; *IGR* IV 790.6–8. For similar examples from elsewhere in the province, cf. *TAM* V 3, 1442 (Philadelphia); *I.Ephesos* 661.20–24; *I.Didyma* 279b.11–12. As stressed already by W. M. Ramsay, this care for additional provision of oil 'proves that something was done for the comfort of the strangers who came' (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 462); cf. further Robert, *Hellenica* VII 224, n. 3; 231.

¹⁰ *SEG* 35, 1365 = *AE* 1986, 671 (before AD 156/7, most likely in AD 137–41), lines 12–15: ἐν σιτοδείᾳ ἐπευωνί|σαντα τὴν τιμὴν εὐθηνίαν τε ἄφθο|νον παρασχόντα τῇ τε Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει | ἀγοραίαν ἄγοντος Κορνηλίου Λατινιανοῦ. For the date, Eck and Roxan 1995: 74–7 (accepted by Mitchell 1999: 23–4, n. 22).

¹¹ The theory of W. M. Ramsay, who understood this expression in the sense that the assizes were held at Apameia every second year, was that it alternated with some other city of the same district, perhaps Eumeneia (Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 365, 428–29, followed e.g. by C. P. Jones 1978: 68–9; for the usual sense of the Greek, Cobet 1876: 148). However, Ramsay's grounds for considering Eumeneia an assize centre have been proved wrong, and it has been pointed out

There is no doubt, particularly at Apameia, that this was due to a sharp increase in the city's population for the duration of the session.

While it can plausibly be argued that, in accordance with the general pattern, the assizes were usually attached to a local festival or a market fair, and, therefore, were not in fact the sole (and not necessarily even the main) reason for coming to the city at that time, there can be little doubt that the assizes at least increased the numbers of those coming to the city.¹² Indeed, litigants could feel it advantageous to attend assizes in Phrygia for reasons of speed, even though their case originated in a very different part of the province. In a well-known early example, Philodamos of Lampsakos, who fell foul of the infamous Verres during the latter's stay in that city, was summoned to trial by the governor of Asia, Gaius Claudius Nero, at the assizes at Laodikeia on the Lykos, yet another of the Phrygian assize centres, at the far end of the province from Lampsakos. Philodamos was there tried by a council, to which Nero invited the proconsul of the neighbouring province of Cilicia, Gnaeus Dolabella – who was the superior of Verres and thus had a particular interest in the case – together with all his staff.¹³ While this was obviously a rigged trial, there is in fact no suggestion that Nero exceeded his

that in some cases the words *παρ' ἔτος* could simply mean 'year by year' (see most recently Thonemann 2011a: 103, n. 8; the sense of this expression in *SEG* 41, 1106.8, does not seem clear to me, however; cf. also *BE* 1968, no. 548), while *gymnasiarchates διὰ ἀγοραίας*, used by Ramsay in support of his view, should more plausibly refer to benefactors taking on themselves expenses of their office for the time of the assizes, rather than for the whole year (Burton 1975: 98). Compare 'perpetual (*εἰς αἰῶνα*) *gymnasiarchs*' discussed by Louis Robert (1966a: 83–5) and the fact that in the western provinces the term *gymnasium* denoted distributions of oil over a certain period (usually much shorter than a year), the evidence for which is collected by Fagan 1999.

¹² For the economic realities underlying the Apameian assizes, cf. Thonemann 2011a: 108. Characteristically, Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 35.14) lists Cappadocians, Pamphylians and Pisidians – who were of course outside the proconsul of Asia's jurisdiction – among the peoples who use Apameia as 'gathering place and council' (*ἀγορά καὶ σύνοδος*): the phrase is the one normally used for the assizes, which he goes on to describe immediately afterwards, but they could of course have been in the city on some other business. Connection between the timing of the assize session and of the main local festival was quite typical for the province of Asia: cf. for Ephesos *I.Ephesos* 661.20–1 (with *Mart. Timothei* 8; *Plut. Ant.* 24.4; *Arist. Or.* 50.78); for Smyrna, *Arist. Or.* 21.16; 50.85; *Mart. Polyc.* 21; *Mart. Pion.* 19.1; for Miletos, *I.Didyma* 297.9–10; for Kyzikos, *Arist. Or.* 51.42–48; for Pergamon, perhaps *I.Pergamon* II 269.30. It is notable that Menander Rhetor describes the moment of the governor's arrival for the assizes as passing *ἀπ' ἱερῶν ἐπ' ἱερά* (p. 378.29 Spengel). We should note, however, that in the age of Aelius Aristides the proconsul's assize circuit took him to Phrygia in December/January (in AD 148 and 152; *Aristid. Or.* 50.78; 103), perhaps not the most natural time for the peak trade activity.

¹³ *Cic. Verr.* II.1.73–74. A Prienean ambassador had to appear before the governor Gaius Iulius Caesar, father of the future dictator (c. 102 BC), first at Pergamon (*I.Priene* 111.15) and then at Laodikeia (line 32), *conuentus* centres in both cases. For similar journeys to assize centres of

powers in the case; indeed, parallel examples both from Laodikeia itself and from elsewhere in Asia Minor show such summonses to be not untypical, and not necessarily followed by accusations of malpractice. One doubts whether a distinguished landowner from Lampsakos would otherwise have found an occasion for a trip to Phrygia, without the need to appear before the proconsular court.

Equally, litigants from Phrygia could go to assize centres elsewhere in order to obtain justice: an inscription from the age of Augustus shows the ambassadors of Aizanoi (located in the judicial district of Synnada at the time) addressing the proconsul Gaius Norbanus Flaccus when he was at the Pergamene assize, while in AD 129 litigants from the Hyrgaleian *koinon* (not far from Eumeneia), who had first appeared before the emperor Hadrian at Apameia, had to follow him to an assize centre ‘in Lycia’ in order to obtain a copy of his decision.¹⁴ In the early period, governors could even lump assize sessions for several different districts into one, thus compelling all litigants to make a journey outside their own *conuentus*. So in 50 BC Cicero scheduled assizes for the Kibyric and the Apameian dioceses to take place at Laodikeia (the centre of the former) from 13 February to 15 March, and those for the district of Synnada, Pamphylia, Lykaonia and Isauria for another two months, from 15 March to 15 May, also at Laodikeia.¹⁵ Whether the movement of litigants around the province necessitated by the assize system led to a significant increase in wider human mobility within Roman Asia Minor is, of course, ultimately unknowable. For legal and institutional history, however, it is important that this movement of litigants around the province (and even beyond its boundaries, in the case of litigants appearing before Hadrian) must necessarily have helped to integrate Phrygia within the framework of Roman institutions and procedures. Whatever the status of local law within this framework (a theme to which we shall turn in a later section of this chapter), justice was not allowed to remain a purely local concern.

different judicial districts in cases where no judicial corruption was alleged, compare Plin. *Ep.* 10.81.4; Aristid. *Or.* 50.78; 85; 89; 96.

¹⁴ C. Norbanus Flaccus at Pergamon: Wörrle 2011 (*MAMA IX* 13), line 1; Hadrian in a city [τῆς Λυ]κίας: *AE* 2008, 1349.4–5 (with commentary in C. P. Jones 2009: 450). Note, however, that Phrygian Laodikeia on the Lykos was listed in a late compendium of ethnic terminology by Stephanus of Byzantium as Λαοδικεῖα Λυκίας (cf. P. M. Fraser 2009: 356, accepting his emendation Λυκίας for the manuscript Λυδίας).

¹⁵ Cic. *Att.* 5.21.9 [= 114 SB]; 6.2.4 [= 116 SB]; *Fam.* 2.13.42 [= 93 SB] (the second session ended on 1 May, as the assizes had run out of business). For the schedule of Cicero’s assizes in 51–50 BC, cf. Hunter 1913; Marshall 1966: 242–6.

Table 1. *Legal practitioners in Roman Phrygia.*

	Name	Information	Sources
1	Aur(elius) Eutychianos	νομικός, died at 19 years, Akmoneia, AD 224	Robert, <i>Hellenica</i> X 247–56
2	(Publius Aelius?) Nikomachos	νομικός, died at 21 years, Aizanoi, II AD	IGR IV 587 = SEG 34, 1288
3	Artemidoros	νομικός, died at 25 years, Aizanoi	IGR IV 588
4	Cornelius	νομικός, commemorated by his sons Julius and Cornelianus, Dorylaion	IGR IV 533
5	Marcus Aristonikos Teimokrates	Head of the <i>Mouseion</i> at Smyrna for his ‘expertise in laws’, ¹⁶ assessor in the governor’s court, commemorated at Temenouthyrai-Flaviopolis	IGR IV 618 = Drew-Bear 1979: 295–6, no. 6
6	Proklos, s. of Proklos	πραγματικός at Eumeneia, AD 173	MAMA IV 333
7	Gaius	πραγματικός at Eumeneia, III AD	Robert, <i>Hellenica</i> XI/XII 414–29 ¹⁷
8	Publius Aelius Zeuxidamos Zeno	<i>aduocatus fisci</i> in Phrygia, Hierapolis, Antonine period	IGR IV 819.9–11
9	Ulpus Lycinus and Iulius Lycinus	<i>aduocati fisci</i> , Synnada, II AD	MAMA VI 373
10	Publius Aelius Actiacus	σημειογράφος (notary) at Eumeneia, II AD	CIG 3902d = Ramsay, <i>Phrygia</i> II 379, no. 208 ¹⁸

As I have argued elsewhere, these institutional connectivities were helped by the activities of legal and para-legal experts, who were closely connected (at least in Asia Minor) with the *conuentus* system and could spread knowledge of relevant proconsular decisions between different judicial districts and provinces.¹⁹ It may be convenient to provide at this point a checklist of

¹⁶ On the expression ἐμπειρία τῶν νόμων, cf. Robert, *Hellenica* V 30–1.

¹⁷ Esp. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII 416, n. 1, for general discussion of *pragmatikoi*.

¹⁸ For public archives at Eumeneia cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 368–9; Drew-Bear 1978: 102–3, no. 40 (SEG 28, 1151; MAMA XI 46). Elsewhere in Phrygia, note e.g. CIG III 3865k (Traianopolis); 3953h (Trapezopolis); AvH 39; 55b; 67; 74; 80; 98; 100; 104; 105; 111, and numerous others from the same city; MAMA IV 27 (Prymnessos); 301 (Dionysopolis); VI 270 (Akmoneia); IX P39; P41; P43 (Aizanoi); I.Laodikeia 85; 123.

¹⁹ Kantor 2009. It may well be an illustration of their mode of operation that the documents concerning the privileges of Jewish communities assembled (in a rather mangled form) by Flavius Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* (one of which comes from Laodikeia on the Lykos: Joseph. AJ 14.242) come, with one or two possible exceptions, exclusively from assize centres. Compare also in the epitaph of Heliodoros from Hierapolis (SEG 54, 1338.10) a reference to ‘those who practise at the assizes’ (ἀγοράσται) and ‘the informer’ (δηλῶτωρ, interestingly a transliteration of the Latin word, suggesting the use of Roman legal procedure), who are promised rewards for taking up a case against the violator of the grave.

such experts known to us in Phrygia. I include here not only jurists proper, but everyone with a claim to some kind of legal expertise, such as treasury advocates (*aduocati fisci*) and notaries: as is widely accepted in recent scholarship, there does not seem to be much point in introducing hard and fast distinctions between various types of legal practitioners in a provincial context.²⁰

All of our data belong to the period of the High Empire, and while the assize system was there from the start, legal expertise connected to it seems to have taken some time to develop. In the early first century AD, Strabo, when speaking of Asia Minor, could still think of the term *nomikoi* as denoting an exclusively Roman reality.²¹ It would be interesting to know to what extent this development is connected to the decline of local jurisdiction and the growing need to practise in Roman courts. At the very least, we should not assume that the apparent similarities of Roman judicial procedures throughout most of the period discussed here somehow mean that this was a period of static continuity in Phrygian legal practice. The late emergence of *nomikoi* (here as elsewhere in Asia Minor) seems to be about more than just changes in the 'epigraphic habit'.

It is also important to stress that, as can be seen from the onomastics of this list, and indeed from a closer look at the texts themselves, many of the Phrygian legal practitioners were not necessarily very high on the social scale. Some of them (Proklos, city solicitor at Eumeneia, or Artemidoros at Aizanoi) were clearly not Roman citizens, and even some of those who had Roman-sounding names, like Cornelius and his sons at Dorylaion, might not have been citizens. The absence of the *tria nomina* is telling, and Cornelius' sons did not make any claims beyond that of legal education for their father: 'Julius and Cornelianus for Cornelius, their father, a jurist'. Those individuals who do possess Roman citizenship are for the most part citizens of only very recent extraction (not, of course, that this means they could not have been local notables), and in the case of a Eumeneian notary of the civic *phyle* Athenais, one wonders from his name (P. Aelius Actiacus) whether he might not have been a freedman, exceptionally admitted to the citizen body.²² If true, this is somewhat in contrast, interestingly, with the situation elsewhere in the province of Asia, where *nomikoi*, Roman citizens

²⁰ For the *nomikoi* (jurists) in the list above (our nos. 1–5), see most recently C. P. Jones 2007: 1349–50, nos. 22–26.

²¹ Strabo 12.2.9 (539C).

²² It is unclear whether Nikomachos (our no. 2) was a Roman citizen like his brother Publius Aelius Bolanus: neither his own name, nor those of their sisters Menothemis and Sosandra, are preceded by a Roman *gentilicium*.

or not, were more often than not members of local councils or celebrated for cultural achievements outside the legal sphere.²³ The only example of this kind in Phrygia is Marcus Aristonikos Teimokrates of Temenouthyrai, and his career took him elsewhere. But even he, for all his brilliant advancement at the Smyrna Mouseion (which seems to have been, among other things, one of the centres of legal education in the province, and definitely served as a provincial archive) and service on the governor's court, does not look like a Roman citizen, even though he clearly was an important figure in the context of his backwater home town.²⁴

It is even more striking, then, that even people from conceivably rather undistinguished backgrounds were taking to legal education in Phrygia. The ages of the first three men on our list are telling: they were students of law, rather than established professionals, a pattern of commemoration known elsewhere in Asia Minor (particularly at Alexandria Troas, a destination of many of these students).²⁵ This means, besides the obvious fact that there were possibilities of social advancement in choosing a legal career, that by the time of the High Empire in order to become a legal professional you had to start early and to have some sort of legal training, whether this was under the guidance of provincial compatriots at Smyrna, or further afield at Alexandria Troas, Berytus or Rome, or at some unknown place closer to home. Only the existence of a corporate identity of this kind could allow a youth of 19 years already to be identified as a 'jurist', and such an identity could only grow within a wider Roman framework, which in turn could only have been provided, in practical terms, by the assize structure.

²³ Aurelius Eutythianos (our no. 1) was son of a *bouleutes*. Members of local councils elsewhere: Publius Pinnius Iustus from Amastris in Bithynia (*CIL* VIII 15876); Diogenes from Herakleia under Salbake in Caria (Robert and Robert 1954: 171, no. 61); Aelius Aurelius Ammianus Papias (*IAph2007* 12.21) and Aelius Aurelius Ammianus Paulinus (*IAph2007* 12.22) from Aphrodisias; Aurelius Annianus from Thyateira (*TAM* V 2, 933); Menander, *stephanephoros* of Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 372); Titus Aurelius Iulianus, *archon* at Nysa (*SEG* 45, 1535); Claudianus, *strategos* of Mysian Stratonikeia (*SEG* 45, 1676). Wider literary culture: Aurelius Annianus, *rhetor* and *nomikos* at Thyateira (*TAM* V 2, 933); a man from Nysa commemorated for his oratory and knowledge of laws (Radet 1890: 224–31, no.2); Menneas, from Ariassos in Pisidia, experienced in law and distinguished in rhetoric (*I.Pis.Cent.* 131); Onesikles, s. of Diodoros, from Hierapolis-Kastabala, writer of epic verse and of New Comedy iambics, of panegyrics, and *nomikos* among the most distinguished (Hicks 1890: 249, no. 23); Lucius Eitutius Elis from Amisos in Bithynia, knowledgeable in laws and geometry (*I.Smyrna* 893).

²⁴ For the Smyrna Mouseion acting as an archive, *I.Smyrna* 191.16–17.

²⁵ On young lawyers in the Roman world, see Kleijwegt 1991: 165–86. For examples from elsewhere in Asia Minor, compare *ILS* 7742; Doerner 1952: 58, no.15; *I.Smyrna* 893; *SEG* 33, 906; *SEG* 2, 715 = *AE* 2003, 1744F.

Patterns of jurisdiction

Let us now look at the operation of this structure, and the practical problems of exercising justice through it, in closer detail. Evidence for the existence, the centres and sometimes the territorial extent of the assize districts derives both from literary sources (particularly Cicero and Pliny the Elder) and from inscriptions, above all the Neronian customs law of the province of Asia, a list of delegates to the temple of Caligula at Miletos, and a Flavian list of assize districts from Ephesos.²⁶ This evidence is more abundant and reliable than is the case for any other aspect of our discussion. We can start by summarizing the evidence briefly for each Phrygian district. I take the district of Philomelion (otherwise known as the Lykaonian) together with the Phrygian ones, as is usually done, even though, as will be seen below, this is open to certain objections.

Apameia: A cistophoric mint under the Attalids, so should have belonged to the organization of Phrygia after the initial annexation.²⁷ Attested explicitly between 62 BC and the Flavian period: Cic. *Flacc.* 68; *Att.* 5.16.2 [= 109 SB]; 5.20.1 [= 113 SB]; *Fam.* 3.8.6 [= 70 SB]; 15.4.2 [= 110 SB]; *SEG* 39, 1180.91; Plin. *HN* 5.106; *I.Didyma* 148.15–16; *SEG* 37, 884 (*I.Ephesos* 13) II 17–39.²⁸ In the later period we have a decision of Hadrian issued at Apameia in AD 129,²⁹ the proconsular legate Granius Castus conducting assizes there in AD 126/7,³⁰ and ‘Phrygian martyrs’ dying there, presumably condemned to death by the proconsul (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.22, quoting Apollinaris of Hierapolis); hence there is little doubt that it retained its status.

Synnada: Perhaps an Attalid cistophoric mint.³¹ Firm attestations in the Late Republican and Augustan age: Cic. *Att.* 5.16.2 [= 109 SB]; 5.20.1

²⁶ Cicero’s evidence comes from his speech in defence of Lucius Valerius Flaccus (governor of Asia in 62 BC) and his letters from Cilicia in 51/50 BC; Pliny the Elder’s information is usually seen as based on official lists of the age of Augustus. There is also some second-century evidence in Aelius Aristides and Flavius Philostratus. The relevant section of the Customs Law, though inscribed (and still valid) in AD 62, belongs to 17 BC: *SEG* 39, 1180.91; Milesian temple of Caligula: *I.Didyma* 148, with the best edition and fullest discussion in Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 206–38; Ephesos text: *SEG* 37, 884 = *I.Ephesos* 13. Discussions of the Asian assize system are numerous: see most recently Guerber 2009: 303–23; Fournier 2010: 62–87 (esp. p. 76 for the Phrygian districts).

²⁷ Kleiner and Noe 1977: 86–96. For connection between Attalid cistophoric mints and Roman *conuentus* centres, Gray 1978: 975; Ameling 1988: 18; Mileta 1990: 431–2; Mitchell 1999: 24–5.

²⁸ A list of member communities, cf. Habicht 1975: 80–7, for full discussion.

²⁹ *SEG* 58, 1536 = *AE* 2008, 1349.19: *acc(eptus) X Kal. Aug. Apam. in Asia*.

³⁰ Drew-Bear 1978: 19–22, no. 11 (*SEG* 28, 1162; *SEG* 41, 1236). ³¹ Mørkholm 1979: 50–3.

[=113 SB]; *Fam.* 3.8.6 [= 70 SB]; 15.4.2 [= 110 SB]; *SEG* 39, 1180.91; Plin. *HN* 5.105. The district is represented by Protomachos, s. of Glykon, from Iulia, in *I.Didyma* 148.12. Procuratorial hearing at Synnada (AD 237): *SEG* 16, 754.33–4.³²

Laodikeia on the Lykos (*dioikesis Kibyratikē*): Created after the conquest of the Kibyrratis by Murena in 84 BC (Strabo 13.4.17); cf., however, *I.Priene* 111.32, a possible proconsular hearing in the city in c. 102 BC, which may have some connection with the decision to place the capital of the diocese in Laodikeia, rather than Kibyra.³³ Firm attestations from 80 BC to the Antonine age: Cic. *Verr.* II.1.72–6; *Flacc.* 68; *Att.* 5.15.1 [=108 SB]; 5.16.2 [= 109 SB]; 5.20.1 [= 113 SB]; 5.21.9 [= 114 SB]; *Fam.* 3.8.6 [= 70 SB]; 15.4.2 [= 110 SB]; *SEG* 39, 1180.91; Plin. *HN* 5.105;³⁴ *I.Didyma* 148.16; Arist. *Or.* 50.103;³⁵ Philostr. *VS* I.25.539. Mention of the martyrdom of Sagaris in Laodikeia (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.24.5, quoting from a letter of Polycrates to Pope Victor, AD 189–99) may also be relevant.³⁶ Capital of Phrygia Pacatiana in Late Antiquity, perhaps in direct continuity with its status as an assize capital.³⁷

Aizanoi: first attested explicitly in the Antonine period (*AE* 1986, 671 = *SEG* 35, 1365.15, c. AD 137–41).³⁸ The district probably existed by c. AD 111, when a visit to Aizanoi was prescribed by the *mandata* (official instructions from the emperor) of the proconsul Quintus Fabius Postuminus (*IGR* IV 572; Robert 1937: 301–5; *MAMA* IX P24, lines 2–5).³⁹ Before that, Aizanoi was in all likelihood part of the Synnada district.⁴⁰

Philomelion (Lykaonia): Ἀν ἐπαρχεία Λυκαονία, presumably more or less identical with the assize district, existed by 101 BC: *RS* 12 (Knidos copy), col. III.22–7.⁴¹ Attested later with a centre at Philomelion: Cic. *Att.* 5.20.1 [= 113 SB]; *Fam.* 3.8.6 [= 70 SB]; 15.4.2 [= 110 SB]; *SEG* 39, 1180.91;

³² See further below. Compare also honours to Aur. Elpidophoros, ‘the most just procurator of Augustus’ (Drew-Bear and Sacco 2006/7: 270, no. 3, lines 2–4), and Aurelius Aristainetos, ‘the most just procurator of Phrygia’ (*MAMA* IV 63), in the Severan period, both from Synnada.

³³ Note Dmitriev 2005: 80–1, for Aquillian milestones at Laodikeia, showing presumably that it was not given over to Mithridates V.

³⁴ We should emend the manuscript *conueniunt eo XXV ciuitates* to *conueniunt ea* in Pliny’s passage (so Ameling 1988: 23, n. 72; Heller 2006: 127, n. 9), thus removing the anomalous placing of the district’s centre at Kibyra itself.

³⁵ Cf. Behr 1968: 63, n. 14. ³⁶ Fournier 2010: 82, n. 443.

³⁷ Ramsay, *Phrygia* I 80–2; A. H. M. Jones 1971: 530; *TIB Phrygien* 71–83, 323–6.

³⁸ Cf. n. 10 above for the date.

³⁹ The word ἐπιδημία, used by Postuminus of his arrival in the city, is used in the sense of *conuentus* in Egypt: Capponi 2005: 30.

⁴⁰ A. H. M. Jones 1971: 65.

⁴¹ For an Attalid countermarking authority which might have been its predecessor, Thonemann 2008.

Plin. *HN* 5.95; *I.Didyma* 148.18. In the joint reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, Maximius Attianus, *quaestor pro praetore*, demarcated the boundaries between Philomelion and Antioch in Pisidia, acting as a delegate of the proconsul Sempronius Senecio (*AE* 1997, 1448); this does not, however, strictly confirm that Philomelion still possessed *conuentus* status at this point.⁴²

In all of these districts, justice was at certain periods administered by governors of provinces other than Asia, vividly illustrating how the Roman governor's travel convenience could be a paramount consideration in administrative arrangements. There is, however, a distinct difference here between the Philomelion district and the Phrygian districts proper. All of them were under Cicero's jurisdiction when he was proconsul of Cilicia in 51/50 BC, but he treats them in different ways: he calls Apameia, Synnada and Laodikeia 'three Asian districts attached' to his province, but nowhere describes Philomelion in this way, which suggests that he considered it a 'normal' part of Cilicia.⁴³ Nor is there any evidence that Lykaonia was transferred back to Asia along with Laodikeia, Apameia and Synnada in 49 BC, or indeed at any point before the final dissolution of the province of Cilicia by Caesar or the triumvirs. The most natural assumption would be that Philomelion was put in the province of Cilicia at the time of its establishment as a regular 'territorial province', and so perhaps as early as 91 BC, rather than in 56 BC, when, as we know from the numismatic evidence, the same happened to the three Phrygian districts.⁴⁴ Equally, it is a distinct possibility that in some later periods it was the Imperial legate in Galatia, rather than the proconsul of Asia, who was responsible for providing jurisdiction at Philomelion; the natural route from Ankyra to Antioch in Pisidia would take him through Philomelion. Indeed, an inscription of c. AD 105 shows the governor of Galatia, Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus, taking responsibility for road repairs near Philomelion.⁴⁵ By the time of

⁴² For Attianus acting as a *iudex delegatus* rather than exercising quaestorian jurisdiction proper, see Christol and Drew-Bear 1998: 162. I am grateful to Stephen Mitchell for supplying me with a photograph of another unpublished specimen of this text.

⁴³ Cic. *Fam.* 13.67.1 [= 296 SB]: τρεῖς διοικήσεις *Asiaticas adtributas*.

⁴⁴ Numismatic evidence and chronology of the transfer of the 'three dioceses': Magie 1950: II 1245, n. 18; 1313, n. 17; Syme 1939 [1979]: 121–2, n. 4. Earlier transfer of Philomelion: Sherwin-White 1976: 11; Ferrary 2000: 169, n. 45; Heller 2006: 125–6, n. 4; 379–80, n. 3. It is noteworthy, however, that the most natural reading of Cic. *Verr.* II.3.191 implies that taxes from Philomelion were sent to Ephesos in 70 BC.

⁴⁵ *MAMA* VII 193, with the observations of W. M. Calder, *MAMA* VII, xix, who suggests that the mistaken 'Rusticus' for 'Ruso' implies that his predecessor Arulenus Rusticus was also active at Philomelion. On connections between the Lykaonian road system and Apameia and Philomelion, cf. Ballance 1958: 232. Further mentions of Galatian governors and their legates

Maximius Attianus' mission, however, the district was obviously back in the Asian fold, as can also be seen from the local bronzes with the SPQR legend (suitable only for a public province) which were minted under the Severans and Decius.⁴⁶

During the principate of Claudius it can be argued on similar grounds that it was the Kibyritic district which was briefly the odd one out. Certain similarities with the Late Republican situation can be observed in this case. The first Imperial legate of Lycia, Quintus Veranius, was responsible for the road 'in Asia between Kibyra and Laodikeia', as we know from a list of roads put up by the Lycian League at Patara; he also received honours at Kibyra, where coins with his name and the name of his successor Eprius Marcellus are also known.⁴⁷ It is not impossible that this arrangement was not restricted to the city of Kibyra itself (even if our evidence is almost entirely confined to it), and that the Laodikeian assizes were for a few years conducted by Veranius and Marcellus when they were in the area. But if so, it is significant that the Patara list still treats Kibyra and Laodikeia as being 'in Asia', in the same way as Cicero had treated the Phrygian districts back in 51 BC. A more permanent transfer of the region from one province to another was not on the cards.

Several salient features stand out from the above summary. First, the structure was, despite the short-lived transfers of Phrygian and Lykaonian districts to other provinces, a remarkably stable one. Between the creation of the Kibyritic district (if it was indeed as late as 84 BC) and the elevation of Aizanoi in the early second century AD, the structure did not change, and remarkably, even though Cicero could hold combined assize sessions for several districts, he still saw the districts themselves as distinct and not to be changed at will. Whatever the legal developments of this period, they were, as so often in Roman institutional history, hidden behind a remarkably fossilized structure.

Second, in what relation did the jurisdictional structure stand to the traditional regional divisions of Asia Minor, to which it outwardly bore little resemblance? In other words, can we meaningfully speak of 'Phrygia' from the point of view of Roman jurisdiction? As stressed by the geographer

having authority over 'Lykaonia' (cf. Sherk 1980: 1004–11, for Aulus Caesennius Gallus and Gaius Antius Iulius Quadratus) are irrelevant; as Pliny the Elder makes clear (*HN* 5.95; 5.147), part of Lykaonia ('Obizene') was under Galatian jurisdiction at the same time as Philomelion was a district of Asia. See now Vitale 2012: 98–110.

⁴⁶ *BMC Phrygia* xc.

⁴⁷ The road: *SEG* 51, 1832C.28–9 (*stadiasmos* from Patara, AD 45/6); honours to Veranius: *IGR* IV 902 = *SEG* 34, 1311 = 41, 1373; coins: *RPC* I 2889 (Veranius); 2890 (Marcellus). The Patara list disproves the hypothesis that the city of Kibyra was formally transferred to Lycia at the time (on which see Erkelenz 1998; *RPC* II, p. 118).

Strabo, who was writing the relevant part of his work during the principate of Tiberius, ‘the Phrygian and the Carian and the Lydian parts [of Asia Minor], as also those of the Mysians, are hard to distinguish, since they merge into one another. And it has contributed not a little to this confusion that the Romans do not divide them by tribe, but have organized the dioceses in which they have assizes and provide justice in a different fashion.’⁴⁸ For Pliny the Elder, the borders of Phrygia were much wider than the borders of Cicero’s ‘three Asiatic jurisdictions’ had ever been.⁴⁹ It has been persuasively argued that the separate identity of Phrygia and Lykaonia was recognized by Rome in some form from the very first years of the province of Asia, when Phrygia was given for a few years to the king of Pontos, and Lykaonia to the king of Cappadocia. However, the relation of that recognition to the assize structure – and, therefore, the extent to which you could be a ‘Phrygian’ from the point of view of jurisdiction – remains not fully clear.⁵⁰ When a procuratorial province of Phrygia (of which more below) comes into existence in the High Empire, its centre appears to be at Hierapolis, rather than at any of the old assize centres, although its boundaries presumably did not cut across the *conuentus* boundaries.⁵¹ While Strabo claimed that Laodikeia was ‘the greatest city of Phrygia’, and Philostratus stated that in the lifetime of the great sophist Polemo, Phrygia was ‘being administered’ by Laodikeia, nonetheless, the *koinon* of Phrygia, an obscure institution known only through a handful of coins, seems to have been connected to Apameia rather than Laodikeia, and has even been described as ‘a way of conceptualizing the Apameian assizes’.⁵² It would be interesting to know to what extent the dissolution of local legal peculiarities was accelerated by the breaking up of Phrygia into jurisdiction districts which incorporated some

⁴⁸ Strabo 13.4.12: ὥστε καὶ τὰ Φρυγία καὶ τὰ Καρικὰ καὶ τὰ Λύδια καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν δυσδιάκριτα εἶναι παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα· εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρά συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας (based on Loeb tr. by H. L. Jones). The rendering of ἀγοραίους as ‘popular assemblies’ in the Loeb translation needs correcting; cf. Radt 2008: 558, for the terminology. See on this passage Habicht 1975: 68; Ameling 1988: 15; Merola 2001: 180, n. 152.

⁴⁹ Plin. *HN* 5.145–6, and see now Vitale 2012: 65–7. That belonging to an assize district mattered is perhaps suggested by the fact that Kibyra now begins to be described as a Phrygian city, e.g. by Plin. *HN* 5.105 (compare Strabo 13.4.14 for its ethnic origins).

⁵⁰ On the ‘corporate identity of Phrygia’, Thonemann 2011a: 112–3. An attempt to provide a systematic history in Vitale 2012: 65–88.

⁵¹ An εἰρηνοφύλαξ τῆς ἐπαρχείας is known, showing a role of this structure in maintaining public order, and therefore in the operation of criminal justice: *SEG* 40, 1232–3 (AD 79). Hierapolis as the centre of the financial district: *SEG* 49, 1813 (on which I agree with Ritti 1999: 270–1; the connection with the Laodikeian *conuentus*, posited by Heller 2006: 145–6, is conjectural). On the relationship between the fiscal and assize districts, Thonemann 2011a: 113, n. 39.

⁵² Laodikeia: Strabo 12.8.13; Philostr. *VS* 1.25.539; *koinon* of Phrygia: Thonemann 2011a: 109–17 (quote from p. 115); for a somewhat different approach, Vitale 2012: 80–3.

ethnically non-Phrygian communities, not to mention the implicit status of the Phrygians (as with other indigenous peoples of the province) as ‘Greeks’ for Roman legal purposes. Alternatively, this process of homogenization may have been counteracted by joint institutions such as the procuratorial district or the *koinon* – but our evidence is insufficient to provide an answer.⁵³

Third, we have to ask how far this structure could have really provided effective justice to the local population. The proconsul did not visit northern Phrygia at all, and the distances to be covered by the litigants could often be very considerable. The problem could only have been exacerbated by the scarcity (compared to other parts of the province) of urban life in the Phrygian and Lykaonian uplands (see Thonemann, Chapter 1 above), and, beginning with the age of Augustus, the huge extent of the Imperial estates in the region. Although our evidence for civic jurisdiction in this part of the province is very scarce and mostly inferential, it is natural to assume that city-dwellers could, as elsewhere in Roman Asia Minor, resolve minor private law disputes and pursue petty crime before civic authorities.⁵⁴ What, however, was a villager on an Imperial estate to do in cases of theft, assault or debt disputes, insofar as the Roman authorities were concerned? And what was happening in between the proconsular visits? Presumably the villages were dealing with such issues in some form, but were there any mechanisms elevated to the level of public recognition after the Attalid judges on the former royal estates disappeared with the coming of Rome? For more than 150 years after the annexation of Phrygia our evidence gives no answer to this crucial question. As Peter Brunt said in a different context, ‘Russian peasants have a proverb: “Heaven is high and the Tsar far off”. Perhaps the experience of Rome’s subjects was not greatly different.’⁵⁵

An answer begins to appear after Claudius granted jurisdiction to his procurators in AD 53, perhaps not only on the Imperial estates but also

⁵³ On Phrygians being counted as ‘Greeks’, see e.g. Cic. *Flacc.* 17; cf. most recently Ferrary 2001.

⁵⁴ At Laodikeia the duties of the *nomophylax* (guardian of the laws) included receiving payments for the *oikonomēmata* (registration of legal transactions in the public archive): *I.Laodikeia* 82.8–10, with full discussion in Robert 1969: 269–72 (for another Laodikeian *nomophylax*, cf. *I.Laodikeia* 44). This implies at least some sort of local rules still in operation even in a *conuentus* centre, where Roman justice would be most readily available. A decree of Hierapolis (*MAMA* IV 297 and *I.Denizli* 15; translation and commentary in Brélaz 2005: 396–8, with some corrections in Thonemann 2011a: 194) allows owners of the vineyards to flog slave shepherds trespassing on their land, after reporting them to the local police officers (*paraphylakes*). Of course, the existence of local police chiefs (see Masségli, Chapter 5 above, on their pictorial representations) strongly suggests that the power of castigating minor offences was retained by the local authorities across the region.

⁵⁵ Brunt 1990: 73. For the only village court attested in Roman Asia Minor, *IGR* III 409.6–8 (Pogla in Pisidia).

in some other cases involving fiscal interests.⁵⁶ Evidence for procuratorial jurisdiction in Phrygia, perhaps unsurprisingly in the light of the local peculiarities of settlement and corporate organization delineated above, is, in fact, rather more abundant than elsewhere in the province of Asia. The presence of the *aduocati fisci* at Hierapolis and Synnada (see Table 1 above) clearly indicates trials before procurators on fiscal matters (especially clear at Hierapolis, which was not a seat of proconsular justice), and the separate existence of Phrygia as a fiscal district, referred to above, is well attested from the reign of Hadrian onwards.⁵⁷

As in our other examples from Asia Minor, however, procurators act as judges in conjunction with (or even under direct instructions from) the provincial governor until relatively late. So in AD 125/6, our earliest example, the procurator Hesperus acted on the proconsul's *mandata* in the settlement of the lands of the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, and even as late as AD 213 the proconsul Gavius Tranquillus and the *procurator Phrygiae* Aurelius Philocyrius acted closely together in preventing abuses of soldiers at Takina.⁵⁸

The first document in which the proconsul is not present at all is the early third-century dispute between the villagers of Anossa and Antimacheia over transport requisitions (*angareia*), a key piece of evidence on a number of other issues as well: from the organization of Roman taxation, the transport system in the province, and the spread of the new Severan chancery practices to the character of village self-government in Phrygia and its mode of communication with Imperial authorities. A new edition and translation of the text, using for the first time the materials from the Ballance archive, is currently being prepared by Charles Crowther, which will put its study on a firmer basis.⁵⁹ This text also gives us a glimpse of a greater accessibility of procuratorial justice as compared with proconsular jurisdiction. The hearings take place at Prymnessos (line 30), Synnada (line 34), and even at Anossa itself (line 1). Eventually, the villagers of Anossa, who had been unsuccessful in presenting their case without taking legal advice, express

⁵⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 12.60, a much debated passage, and for the province of Asia, SEG 39, 1180.147–8, with Kantor 2011.

⁵⁷ Christol and Drew-Bear 2005; Vitale 2012: 70–5. IGR IV 819 clearly indicates that appointments as *aduocatus fisci* in Phrygia and in Asia were separate.

⁵⁸ Aizanoi settlement: MAMA IX, xxxvi–xliii; Takina: Hauken 1998: 217–41, no. 6.

⁵⁹ Earlier text in SEG 16, 754 (translated by Levick 2000: 63–5, no. 57). A forthcoming paper by Dmitry Bratkin (presented at the I Moscow Epigraphic Conference, 31 January 2012) convincingly argues that the form of the minutes (down to the abbreviations used) is similar to that first attested in Egypt in AD 213 (*P.Ross.Georg.* V 18). This is of obvious significance as evidence for the developing standardization of Roman court and chancery practices.



Figure 7.1. Petition of the villagers of Tymion and Simoe to Septimius Severus and Caracalla. SEG 53, 1517. Uşak Museum.

their intention of making a further representation through an advocate at Dokimeion (line 12); to judge by his manner of refusing, this would presumably have come before the same procurator Threptus, rather than any separate appeal authority. It looks as though the procurator is conducting his own mini-tour of the area, taking him to considerably more obscure places than the proconsul was ever likely to visit.

The reasons why fully independent procuratorial jurisdiction appears in the epigraphic record so late seem to be indicated in the Imperial response to the petition of the villagers of Tymion and Simoe in AD 205 or 208 concerning some sort of unlawful exactions (Fig. 7.1):

Our procurator will set himself against unlawful exactions and against those who persist [in demanding the services instantly?]. If, however, the matter will need a stronger [punishment], let him not hesitate to [defend] these persons before the governor of the province [of Asia] against [those who exact services illicitly in accordance with] the manner of his office.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ [—]P[ro]c[ur]ator noster i[n]te[r]ponet se aduersum in[l]i[c]itas exact[i]ones et ad[uer]sum perseuerantes ut e[x]igant i[n]stant[issime] munera? q. Aut si res ma[i]or em u[i]ndictam desiderabit non cu[n]ctabitur at praeside[m] [proui]nciae [Asiae] defender[e] eas personas aduer[sum] i[n]i[c]ite munera? exigentes? in] officii sui modum (SEG 53, 1517.11–16; definitive

While the text is heavily restored and not unproblematic, we can at least see that as late as the reign of Septimius Severus, the judicial powers of an Imperial procurator were still quite restricted. In all cases other than the most minor infringements, the villagers had still to involve a higher (and not easily accessible) authority. The situation could be rather different in lesser cases, not important enough to merit epigraphic commemoration (notably, the hearings before Threptus at the village of Anossa took place only five years after the Tymion petition), but for obvious reasons the relative prevalence of the two different levels of jurisdiction remains unknown. One wonders, accordingly, how successful procuratorial justice really was in compensating for the inaccessibility of the governor's assizes.

The development in the Imperial period in rural parts of Phrygia (and neighbouring Lydia) of the remarkable habit of erecting so-called 'confession inscriptions' (prayers for divine justice and confessions of misdemeanours after the divine retribution recorded in sanctuaries in the presence of priests) should be mentioned in this context.⁶¹ The language of these inscriptions often bears striking resemblances to contemporary legal terminology, and many secular offences, from theft to violence, figure in the confessions. While the hypothesis that these are records of actual trials before the priests has been abandoned in recent scholarship, and the cultic practices themselves may have had early Anatolian roots, the highly formal (and quasi-judicial in outlook) procedures which were adopted for confessions and accusations may well suggest that Roman justice was not entirely trusted, and that a gap in its provisions was widely felt.⁶² It is, again, characteristic that more serious felonies, which would be likely to attract the attention of Roman authorities, do not appear on confession *stelai*. At least in some cases, however, the problem perceived may have been not so much with the accessibility of justice, as with the desire to punish immoral behaviour which was not covered by any legal sanction. A characteristic

edition by Tabbernee and Lampe 2008: 49–74, whose translation is adopted here with some changes). The restoration *u[indictam]* in lines 13–14 suggested by S. Mitchell in Cooley, Mitchell and Salway 2007: 202 (T. and L.: *u[il]gorem*). The Latin is not everywhere unproblematic, particularly at the end of the first sentence, where it is furthermore unclear whether those who demanded that *munera* should be provided *instantissime* were necessarily doing anything wrong from the imperial point of view. My examination of the photograph, however, appears to confirm the remains of the bottom right of an A at the end of the following lacuna, which precludes a more typical phrase along the lines of *ut e[rius co]nstant[iam] deceat*.

⁶¹ For the 'confession inscriptions' from Phrygia, see Petzl 1994: nos. 106–24, from the important sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos north of Hierapolis; a checklist of a further eight texts in SEG 44, 951. Recent literature on the subject is abundant: for a recent overview, see Chaniotis 2009.

⁶² For the Anatolian roots of the practice, Riel 1995a; against the idea of temple trials (advanced by Zingerle 1926), see Chaniotis 1997; Chaniotis 2004; Schuler 2012: 82–3.

text from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos shows a certain Nik . . . being punished for destroying or cancelling a document promising to manumit one of his slaves through the sanctuary – an action unlikely to get punished in a court of law.⁶³ The wider relation of the confession practices to the legal landscape is a subject that will still repay further study.

Interaction of rules

The surviving fragments from the writings of Roman jurists and Imperial decisions in late legal collections, our main source for Roman law, do not retain much sign of interest in Phrygian local conditions. This is in itself unsurprising. By the time these fragments were assembled in the Late Empire, Roman law had long been the only valid legal system, and the compilers were only interested in what was still valid in their own day. Classical jurists, for example Gaius in his unique commentary on the provincial edict (perhaps that of the province of Asia), could surely have provided much more detail. Still, it is worth noting that even the only text which may show some knowledge of Phrygian peculiarities may have been informed more by the literary tradition than by actual acquaintance with local practice.

The texts from our period in the *Corpus iuris* which certainly mention Phrygia are only two in number; a third is rather doubtful. A rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the city of Hierapolis, quoted by the jurist Callistratus in the first book of his *De cognitionibus* (*On Enquiries*), asserts the general principle that children should not be punished for crimes of their parents, and could have been issued for any part of the Empire.⁶⁴ The same applies to a rescript of Severus Alexander to a certain Crispus, studying at ‘Laodikeia’ (Laodikeia on the Lykos is not impossible), confirming that for the first ten years students will not get *domicilium* (residency) in the city of their school.⁶⁵ Most interesting of all, however, is the discussion of the application of the *interdictum de aqua cottidiana et aestiva* (an injunction to protect the right to draw water from somebody else’s estate) to warm water used for irrigation at Hierapolis in Phrygia in book LXX of Ulpian’s commentary *Ad edictum*.⁶⁶ The passage arguably comes from the famous jurist of the age of Augustus, Marcus Antistius Labeo, who is referred to by

⁶³ MAMA IV 279 (Petzl 1994: 122–5, no. 106).

⁶⁴ Dig. 48.19.26 = Lenel, *Pal.*, Callistr. 11; Gualandi 1963: 117.

⁶⁵ CJ 10.40.2. Laodikeia (without a further title) is more likely to be the city in Phrygia than either of those in Syria or Lykaonia; cf. Robert 1969: 279–80 for the titles of these cities.

⁶⁶ Dig. 43.20.1.13 = Lenel, *Pal.*, Ulp. 1569.

Ulpian earlier in the same passage; the standard edition of the fragments of pre-Hadrianic jurists cuts off the Labeo fragment before the mention of Hierapolis, but without any arguments for doing so, and the case of Hierapolis serves as a good example to illustrate the point argued for by Labeo.⁶⁷ However, the qualities of the water at Hierapolis were known to another Augustan author, Vitruvius, and it is legitimate to wonder whether Labeo took his example of a nice legal puzzle (whether the injunction intended to apply to drawing cold water for agricultural needs also applies to drawing hot water, if the latter is used in agriculture) from his reading of contemporary authors, rather than from any deep familiarity with Asian conditions.⁶⁸

On the ground, cultural and ethnic identities in Phrygia were incredibly mixed and fluid, and one of the largest problems in the legal history of the region is the extent to which inclusion in the wider structures of justice, combined with the habit of the Roman administration to treat everyone in the region as Greeks (referred to in the previous section), may have led to the development of a common milieu of legal rules. An inscription chosen from the *MAMA* volumes almost at random and not in itself presenting any legal difficulties will illustrate my point: 'Lucius Arruntius [A]ciamus provided the Augustan water to the community (*ciuitati*) at his own expense.'⁶⁹ This benefactor is a Roman citizen (with his citizenship acquired through the services of a Roman proconsul during the principate of Tiberius); his original name (preserved as a Roman *cognomen*) is Lydian; he offers a benefaction to the Phrygian city of Synnada, which he calls (in spite of being now a Roman citizen) his *ciuitas*. Under which law was his gift to the city made? Perhaps even more importantly, did he necessarily distinguish between rules from different 'legal systems'? Examples from elsewhere in the Roman world show that a mix, albeit presumably never officially authorized, was in practice perfectly possible.

One ethnic group which is likely to have retained at least a measure of its specific law is the Jews, whose communities were numerous in the region from the time when they were planted there as military settlers by the Seleukids. However, our evidence is insufficient to claim this with certainty, and in any case their legal situation was bound to be fairly untypical.⁷⁰ Fines

⁶⁷ Bremer, *Iurispr. antehadr.* II.1, Antistius Labeo fr. VI.197.

⁶⁸ Vitr. 8.3.10. For a full account of the ancient sources on the thermal waters of Hierapolis, cf. Ritti 1985: 16–22; on the water-supply of Hierapolis, see now Ritti, Grewe and Kessener 2007.

⁶⁹ *L. Arruntius [A]ciamus aquam Augustam de suo | ciuitati dedit* (*MAMA* IV 70, Synnada). On dedications of an *Aqua Augusta* after Augustus' death, Keppie 1983: 116. For the Lydian name Ἀκιαιμός, Zgusta 1964a: 51 §36.

⁷⁰ For the view that Jewish communities may not have been covered by the definition of the 'Greeks in the province', de Visscher 1940: 50.

for grave violations were payable to the Jewish community at Hierapolis, but it is well established that such fines could be paid even to entities which did not have any judicial authority. A remarkable funerary inscription from Apameia, which tells any potential intruder ‘you know the law of the Jews’ is, in all probability, a reference to curses from the book of Deuteronomy, more explicitly mentioned in a similar text from Akmoneia, rather than to any specific rules of the local Jewish community.⁷¹

With the civic communities of the region we are on firmer ground, at least in some respects: that there were local laws predating the arrival of Romans is self-evident, even though their content remains unknown. A grant of local laws holds a prominent place in the letter of Eumenes II granting city status to Toriaion, in what was to become the assize district of Philomelion, one of the most important texts for understanding what it meant to obtain *polis* status.⁷² The complex procedure envisaged by the Attalid king for the approval of the new city’s laws suggests, however, that a certain integration of the region into the wider Hellenistic legal milieu had taken place even before the arrival of Romans. It is accordingly not very clear to what extent Romans had to deal with local ethnic peculiarities (as opposed to simply ‘non-Roman institutions’), even in the early years of the province.

At any rate, the rules inherited from the Hellenistic period seem to have showed astonishing resilience, and Romans were still showing interest in the land registers of the royal period in the reign of Hadrian. In a letter to Titus Avidius Quietus (proconsul of Asia in AD 125/6) concerning an ongoing investigation into the lands of the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi, Hadrian provided the following instructions:

If it is not clear how large are the portions called *klēroi*, into which the land dedicated to Juppiter of Aizanoi was divided by the kings, it is best, as you also believe, that a mean should be observed, corresponding neither to the largest nor to the smallest of the *klēroi* in neighbouring cities.⁷³

⁷¹ Fines at Hierapolis: Ameling 2004: nos. 205–6. ‘Law of the Jews’ at Apameia (τὸν νόμον οἶδεν [τ]ῶν Εἰουδέων): Ameling 2004: no. 179, l. 3, cf. Ramsay 1914: 172; Trebilco 1991: 100. ‘The curses written in the book of Deuteronomy’ (αἱ ὅραι | ἡ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ Δευτερο[νομ]ῳ): Ameling 2004: no. 173, A.15–17; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* X 249–51.

⁷² *I.Sultan Dağı* 393 = *ISE* III 196, lines 10, 27–28. See further on this document Schuler 1999; Virgilio 2001; Bencivenni 2003: 333–56; Savalli-Lestrade 2005.

⁷³ *Si in quantas particulas quos cleris appellant ager Aezanen[si] Ioui dicatus a regibus diuisu[s] sit non apparet optimum est, [sicut tu quoque existimas [mo](d)um qui in uicinis ciuitatibus | clerorum nec maximus nec minimus est obseruari* (MAMA IX P2, ll. 3–6, tr. B. Levick and S. Mitchell); cf. MAMA IX 8–10 for surviving boundary stones. The fullest discussion remains Laffi 1971; see also Wörrle 2009: 426–30; Thonemann, Chapter 1 above. *Pace* Laffi, I follow Levick and Mitchell, MAMA IX, xli, in their understanding of the phrase, which makes the kings responsible for the size of the *klēroi*. For Roman authorities settling land disputes in Phrygia, cf. the checklist in Campbell 2000: 462.

The facts that land measurements (and in all likelihood taxation units) established under the Attalids still mattered for practical purposes in this late period; that similar practices of land division were still alive in Phrygian cities, and not only on sacred land; and that the proconsul was supposed to be guided by local practice rather than any general considerations, all have obvious wider implications for the fate of local law under the Roman Empire. Whatever the state of local judicial autonomy by that time, and despite the growing need to get formal training in (probably Roman) law, we have here a clear example of Roman judicial practice still based, in the famous words of Trajan to Pliny, on the principle that it is always ‘safest to follow the law of each community’.⁷⁴ While we should not exaggerate the extent to which a Roman governor would actually bother to do so in each particular case, this attitude must have been sufficiently widespread that Hadrian and Quietus could still consider it quite normal to consult local customs in the 120s.

The evidence, however, is scarce, which does not come as a surprise in a region from which no papyri survive: the more mundane legal transactions would only rarely be inscribed on stone. The main area in which the survival of local rules is attested in the epigraphic record is that of manumissions, where the practice of making conveyances, *katagraphai*, which rendered slaves (or even freeborn children) in formal terms the property of the god, is well attested by inscriptions from the temple of Apollo Lairbenos.⁷⁵ While similar practices are widely attested in the Hellenistic world, from Macedon to Susiane, several local peculiarities have been traced in these texts, and it is a definite possibility that we are dealing with a survival of a distinctly Anatolian institution (perhaps even ‘Phrygian’) into the Roman period. It may not be unconnected that in Phrygia, as elsewhere in Asia Minor, the status of *threptoi*, ‘foundlings’ or ‘home-grown slaves’ is well attested in inscriptions.⁷⁶ While the term *threptos* (which could be applied both to slaves and to free persons, in the Roman understanding of those words) may strictly have been ‘social rather than legal’, nonetheless Pliny the Younger had to work hard to grasp its legal implications in Bithynia, and Roman proconsuls of Asia could well have been presented with the same difficulties in the lawsuits which came before them.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 10.113.

⁷⁵ For documents and discussions, Rici 1995b; 2001 (important for Macedonian parallels); Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000.

⁷⁶ For the main discussions, Cameron 1939; Nani 1943–4; Rici 2009 (esp. p. 109 for possible connections with Phrygian *katagraphai*); and, for Phrygia in particular, Levick and Mitchell, *MAMA IX*, lxxiv–lxxvi; Thonemann, Chapter 6 above.

⁷⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 10.65; quotation from Sherwin-White 1966: 650.

This, however, points to further problems. First, to what extent was the definition of local rules driven by the Roman desire to have a clear set of standards to apply in court (as was the case, for example, with local law in British India)?⁷⁸ Would, for example, Quietus' investigation into the common size of the *klēroi*, or a putative enquiry into the rights of fosterers over *threptoi*, create a 'provincial' rule distinct from and dissimilar to any of the original local rules? Second, landed property and personal statuses are highly conservative areas of law, and it is impossible to extrapolate from these spheres into the much more flexible (and 'internationalized') sphere of the law of contract, particularly once Roman citizens (so prominent at Apameia) had become a substantial presence in the region (see Thonemann, Chapter 1 above).⁷⁹

The earliest surviving testamentary disposition from this region, a chapter from the last will of a freedman of Hadrian who had left a bequest to his home city of Nakoleia, shows both how the spread of Roman citizenship could bring Roman law with it and how its flexibility in certain areas allowed Greek institutions to operate within its framework.

A chapter from the testament of Publius Aelius Onesimos, freedman of Augustus. To the community of Nakoleia, my beloved motherland, although I owe it as much as possible, I leave, due to the mediocrity of my modest means, two hundred thousand sesterces, so that they may be lent at interest by the decision of Cornelius Hyginus and Cornelius Hesychius, and the interest for the first three years be spent on purchasing grain in order that a corn dole can be arranged each year. And after three years have passed it is my wish that the interest on all this money be divided among my fellow-citizens, after a check of the citizen rolls has been made, on the happiest day when our lord Trajan Hadrian was born.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ For British India, compare Cohn 1989.

⁷⁹ For the law of contract, note a funerary foundation of Marcus Aurelius Aigillos from Hierapolis, generating 36 per cent p.a., perhaps invested as a maritime loan: SEG 54, 1323.

⁸⁰ *Kaput ex testamento P. Aeli Onesimi Aug(usti) lib(erti) | ciuitati Nacolensium patriae meae amantissimae quamuis p[ro]rimum debeam pro mediocritate tamen peculio mei dari uolo | H[ic] CC n(ummum) ea condicione uti arbitrato Corne[li]i [Hyg]ini et Corneli [He]l[ys]ci faeneretur ea pecunia et ex usuris qu[od] conflectum fuerit p[ro]ximo triennio in sitionico tribuant ut qu[uo]dquod annis possit e[ss]e | frumentum comparari et peracto triennio uolo eius omnis pecunia[rum] usuras quodquod annis ciuib[us] meis diuidi [p]olitograp[h]ia | facta die felicissimo natali domini n(ostri) Traiani Hadriani (ILS 7196; MAMA V 202; FIRA III 53, lines 1–9: Nakoleia, reign of Hadrian). Understood as a *fideicommissum* by Amelotti 1966: 36, no. 13; cf. further Kehoe 1997: 86–7. On *politographia*, Kiessling 1952. For *fideicommissa*, Buckland 1963: 353–9; Frier and McGinn 2004: 404–12. On leaving money to municipal communities in Roman law, see D. Johnston 1985. A Late Republican dispute over the inheritance of a certain Valeria (Cic. *Flacc.* 84–9) was resolved entirely under the rather archaic rules of Roman testamentary and marriage law, even though her husband, Sestullius Andro from Akmoneia, might have been a freedman of local origin: Marshall 1975; Mitchell 1979.*

As has been shown by Amelotti, this is a good example of a *fideicommissum*, a form of testamentary disposition allowed by Roman Imperial law for leaving property under conditions not allowed by strict rules of traditional testamentary law. In this case, problems would arise from the fact of leaving money to a community, rather than to named individuals, and from the complex conditions attached to the bequest; it is notable that Onesimos is careful to leave Roman citizens as executors and trustees. On the other hand, in spite of being an Imperial freedman, the testator is a citizen of Nakoleia and takes pride in it (compare the example of Arruntius Aciamus, above), and at least one of the institutions he refers to is distinctly Greek, that of the ‘check of citizen rolls’ (*politographia*).

The evidence is insufficient, however, to trace in detail how this practical mix of institutions evolved, and exactly how Roman law came to take the place of local customs. When Constantine made a grant of city status to the village of Orkistos (where in AD 237 a certain Varius Aurelius Marcus had made a bequest in many ways similar to that of Aelius Onesimos), it is striking that no reference to local laws was made.⁸¹

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed more at raising new questions than at providing definite answers. The evidence is limited and often tantalizingly fragmentary; the apparently almost totally static assize system, and the continued Roman interest in Hellenistic royal enactments as late as the second century AD, could well conceal substantial developments, as the development of professional legal training suggests. The sources hint at possible tensions between integration in wider networks of jurisdiction and respect for local Phrygian identities, between interest in Hellenistic enactments and attempts to define local customs in ways comprehensible for Romans. New evidence may yet change our understanding of how these tensions were resolved, and give us a better idea of the chronology of legal and institutional developments in the region.

⁸¹ Varius Aurelius Marcus: Buckler 1937. Grant of city status: *MAMA* VII 305, with Chastagnol 1981.

8 | An epigraphic probe into the origins of Montanism*

STEPHEN MITCHELL

Montanism, ‘the Phrygian heresy’, is reported by Eusebios to have originated at the otherwise unrecorded village of Ardabau, in Phrygian Mysia.¹

There is said to be a village called Ardabau in the part of Mysia next to Phrygia; there, they say, at the beginning one of the new believers, called Montanos, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, in his soul’s immeasurable lust for a leading position, provided a way for the adversary to enter into him, and was swept away spiritually and suddenly fell into a sort of rapture and ecstasy, and began to rave and to babble and to speak foreign words, uttering prophecies from that moment against the custom of the Church according to its tradition and according to its original inheritance.

The founders of this new religious movement were Montanos himself and two prophetesses, Maximilla and Priscilla, previously married women who had taken up a religious calling.² Soon afterwards the Montanists established their base at the Phrygian villages of Pepouza and Tymion, which they

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¹ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.7: κώμη τις εἶναι λέγεται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ, καλουμένη Ἀρδαβαῦ τοῦνομα· ἐνθα φασὶ τίνα τῶν νεοπίστων πρῶτως, Μοντανὸν τοῦνομα, κατὰ Γράτον Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς ἀμέτρῳ φιλοπρωτείας δόντα πάροδον εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ πνευματοφορηθῆναι τε καὶ αἰφνιδίως ἐν κατοχῇ τινι καὶ παρεκστάσει γενόμενον ἐνθυσιᾶν ἄρξασθαι τε λαλεῖν καὶ ξενοφωνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος δῆθεν προφητεύοντα.

² Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.3 (citing his unnamed anti-Montanist source): καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητῶν δὲ ὑποκαταβάς οὕτω γράφει· ‘δείκνυμεν οὖν αὐτάς πρῶτας τὰς προφητίδας ταύτας, ἀφ’ οὗ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπληρώθησαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας καταλιπούσας. πῶς οὖν ἐψεύδοντο Πρίσκιλλαν παρθένον ἀποκαλοῦντες.’ ‘Going on somewhat he writes in this way about the prophetesses: ‘we prove that these, their first prophetesses, themselves abandoned their husbands from the moment that they were filled with the spirit. How then were they lying, when they address Priscilla as a virgin.’

proclaimed to be the new Jerusalem.³ The discovery of an Imperial rescript issued between AD 205 and 208 to the *colonis Tymiorum et Simoen[sium]*, now housed in Uşak Museum but found on the territory of the village of Susuzören, allows an approximate location for Tymion, about 25 kilometres west of the Phrygian city of Sebaste, and a similar distance south-east of Uşak, ancient Temenouthyrai.⁴ Pepouza, the more prominent of the two villages, should be sought in the same region, significantly further north than the locations that had previously been favoured.⁵ The first researchers to identify the topographical significance of the rescript from Susuzören, W. Tabbernee and P. Lampe, have carried out a detailed survey of a substantial Roman and Late Roman site, with an associated Byzantine rock monastery, situated in the canyon-like valley of the Banaz Çay, the ancient river Senaros, south of Tymion, and make a strong, although not definitive, case for identifying this as Pepouza.⁶

It is irritating that the site of Ardabau cannot be precisely identified, and even the site of Pepouza has not yet been demonstrated beyond all possible doubt, but the overall location of the origins of Montanism is now broadly clear. A village ‘in Phrygian Mysia’ (ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ) should be looked for along the margins of north-west Phrygia, where Phrygia’s neighbours were Lydia and Mysia. The boundaries between these regions were famously, indeed proverbially, hard to establish, as Strabo remarked: ‘the parts situated next to this region towards the south as far as the Tauros are so inwoven with one another that the Phrygian and the Karian and the Lydian parts, as also those of the Mysians, since they merge into one another are hard to distinguish.’⁷ To exemplify his own point, in the same section of his work Strabo classified the city of Philadelphieia, normally ascribed to Lydia, as Mysian, and referred to the Katakekaumene, north-east of Sardeis, as a region which was sometimes called Mysian and sometimes Maonian.⁸ It is plausible that Ardabau was located a little to the west or

³ Apollonios, in Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2: οὗτός (sc. Montanos) ἐστὶν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας, ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὀνομασας. ‘This was the man who taught that marriages should be dissolved, who made regulations for fasting, and gave Pepouza and Tymion the name Jerusalem.’

⁴ Tanriver, Hauken and Akbıyıklıoğlu 2003; Lampe and Tabbernee 2004; *AE* 2003, 1690. See further Kantor, Chapter 7 above, with Fig. 7.1.

⁵ Strobel 1980: 29–34, and *passim*. ⁶ Lampe 2004; Tabbernee and Lampe 2008.

⁷ Strabo 13.4.12: τὰ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ νότια μέρη τοῖς τόποις τούτοις ἐμπλοκάς ἔχει μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον, ὥστε καὶ τὰ Φρύγια καὶ τὰ Καρικὰ καὶ τὰ Λύδια καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν δυσδιάκριτα εἶναι, παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα (trans. H. L. Jones).

⁸ Strabo 13.4.10: μετὰ δὲ Λυδοὺς εἰσὶν οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ πόλις Φιλαδέλφεια σεισμῶν πλήρης, and 12.4.11: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἡ Κατακεκαυμένη λεγομένη χώρα μήκος μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τερακοσίων, εἴτε Μυσίαν χρῆ καλεῖν εἴτε Μηονίαν (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως).

north-west of the modern city of Uşak, ancient Temenouthyrai,⁹ which Pausanias described as a city of upper Lydia.¹⁰ An inscription found at Uşak itself records a decree of 'the most splendid metropolis of Mokadene, the city of the Temenothyreis', and six other inscriptions from Uşak also name the city or its citizens.¹¹ Temenouthyrai lay within the borders of the province of Phrygia Pacatiana in Late Antiquity,¹² and may best be described as a settlement in the Lydian-Phrygian border zone.

The significance of this localization for understanding the origins of Montanism has been underestimated. Temenouthyrai/Uşak, located in an upland plain between the headwaters of the river Hermos (Gediz Çay), which ran through Lydia to the Aegean, and the ancient Senaros (Banaz Çay), which followed a more southerly course through western Phrygia to join the Maeander, was the most important Roman settlement in the borderland of Lydia, Mysia and Phrygia. Its territory, which appears to have extended to the sparsely populated region around Tymion and Pepouza to the south, may also have included the unlocalized Ardabau. The city was part of the original Montanist heartland. It is therefore noteworthy that Temenouthyrai has produced a series of inscriptions which have been identified as certainly or probably Montanist in all the recent literature.¹³ In the light of the recent topographical discoveries relating to Tymion and Pepouza they merit re-examination.

Before tackling these texts we need briefly to review the evidence and the controversy about the date of the origins of Montanism.¹⁴ Eusebios' *Chronicon* indicates that the sect originated in the eleventh or twelfth year of Marcus Aurelius's reign, around AD 172.¹⁵ The anonymous anti-Montanist writer, who is one of Eusebios' key sources in his account of the later

⁹ Drew-Bear 1979.

¹⁰ Pausanias 1.35.7: τὸ δ' ἔμοι θαῦμα παρασχόν, Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλιν οὐ μεγάλην Τημενουθύραι ('This caused me amazement: there is a minor city of upper Lydia, Temenouthyrai...'). Pausanias then reports the discovery of giant bones, which he had witnessed personally, and the mythical explanations which were invoked to explain them.

¹¹ All but one of the texts can be found conveniently in *IGR* IV 614, 615, 617, 618 (metropolis of Mokadene), 619, 620 and 630. They are reviewed with further bibliography in Drew-Bear 1979: 293–6.

¹² Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 668.14 (Τεμένου θύραι). The region occupied by the Mok(k)adenoi obviously spanned this Phrygo-Lydian border region, and Ptolemy 5.2.27 (παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μοκκαδηνοί) referred to them as a people of Great Phrygia close to Bithynia. Ptolemy does not list the city of Temenouthyrai itself. See Drew-Bear 1979: 277, nn.10–11, and P. Herrmann, *TAM* V 1, p. 1.

¹³ Gibson 1975; Tabbernee 1997: 61–86, nos. 3–8 (classified by Tabbernee as 'likely' to be Montanist).

¹⁴ Barnes 1970.

¹⁵ *Pseudoprophetia quae Cata Frygas nominatur, accepit exordium auctore Montano et Priscilla Maximillaque insanis vatibus* ('The false prophecy, which is called the Kataphrygian, had its

second- and early third-century conflicts between the Montanists and the mainstream Church in his *Ecclesiastical History*, asserted that Montanos emerged when a certain Gratus was proconsul of Asia.¹⁶ Unfortunately the proconsul referred to here cannot be identified in other sources. Epiphanius, in the *Panarion*, offered an earlier, very precise date, the nineteenth year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, that is AD 156–7.¹⁷

From these, another heresy again popped up named after the Phrygians, and it happened at the same time as these (sc. the Encratites) and followed on from them. And these came into being around the nineteenth year of Antoninus Pius, Hadrian's successor.

Some scholars have concluded that the Phrygian Quintus, whose defiance of the Roman authorities is described in the *Martyrdom* of Polycarp, an event which itself can be dated to the mid 150s AD, should be identified as a Montanist.¹⁸ This would weigh in favour of a relatively early date, but it may simply be the fact that a number of Phrygian Christians who were prosecuted in the second century became martyrs for their uncompromising style of Christianity, which in turn provided a model of behaviour that was followed by Montanists.¹⁹

The early Christian inscriptions from Temenouthyrai were first published as a group by Elsa Gibson.²⁰ All are funerary doorstones and have accordingly been included in Marc Waelkens' monumental corpus, *Die Kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, with excellent illustrations and extensive commentary.²¹ The Christian texts also form the first group of documents discussed in

beginning from its founder Montanos, and Priscilla and Maximilla the mad prophets'); see Euseb. *Chron.* 288 F in the Latin translation of Jerome, dated to the third year of the 137th Olympiad and the eleventh year of Marcus Aurelius, that is AD 171 (cited from Helm 1984: 206). The Armenian version sets the episode in Marcus' twelfth year.

¹⁶ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.7 (quoted in n. 1 above).

¹⁷ Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* §48.1: ἀπὸ τούτων ἑτέρα πάλιν αἵρεσις ἀνακύπτει τῶν Φρυγῶν καλουμένη, σύγχρονος γενομένη τούτοις καὶ αὐτοὺς διαδεχομένη. Οὗτοι γὰρ γεγόνασι περὶ τὸ ἑννεακαίδεκατον ἔτος Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τοῦ μετὰ Ἀδριανόν.

¹⁸ *Mart. Polycarpi* 4: εἷς δέ, ὀνόματι Κόϊντος, Φρύξ, προσφάτως ἠηλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἰδὼν τὰ θῆρια ἐδειλιάσεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τινὰς προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ὁμῶσαι καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προσιόντας ἑαυτοὺς, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. 'One man, Quintus by name, a Phrygian, who had recently arrived from Phrygia, became frightened when he saw the wild beasts. This was the person who forced himself and some others to come forward voluntarily. The proconsul used many soft words to persuade him to swear and to offer sacrifice. Therefore, brothers, we do not approve of those who present themselves, since this is not the teaching of the Gospel.' See also Frend 1964.

¹⁹ See the discussion by Birley 2000 (English version, Birley 2006).

²⁰ Gibson 1975; the texts are also briefly presented in Gibson 1978: 136.

²¹ Waelkens 1986: 143–54. For the Phrygian 'doorstones', see also Kelp, Chapter 4 above.

W. Tabbernee's no less monumental corpus of Montanist inscriptions.²² In order to illustrate the context to which they belong, I list both these monuments and other associated doorstones in Waelkens' catalogue, which are clearly products of the same workshop, but not themselves identifiably Christian. Comprehensive bibliographies relating to the Christian texts are provided by Tabbernee. The doorstones are carved in the same style and adopt a very similar decorative schema. They are flat-topped blocks between 1.05 and 1.30 metres high and between 20 and 30 centimetres thick, roughly finished on the back and with evidence of *anathyrosis* on the underside, indicating that they had been placed on an architectural base. The pilasters on either side of the arched door niches have canted bases and capitals, often decorated with attractive thick ivy leaves, which are mirrored by the fleshy leaves and tendrils in the spandrels and above the arches. The doorstones are capped by pediments, which usually consist of a pair of simple string mouldings below a curved projecting cornice and an upper vertical face which carried the inscription, carved on two or three lines. An additional vertical face below the lower string mouldings of the pediment was incorporated into the design of no. 6, to make room for its longer text. This detail implies that the tombstones were customized to individual wishes and requirements. The representation of the door in nos. 1–2 and 4–5 follows the orthodox pattern of four separate panels. In nos. 6–8 the design is simplified to a single panel, still distinguished from the arched niche above, but the door motif in nos. 9–10 is represented as a single elongated arched niche.

Waelkens has pointed out that the workshop responsible for the group from Temenouthyrai also produced a group of six multiple doorstones that have been recorded at the village of Çarikköy, about fifteen kilometres east of Uşak, which lies at or near the ancient city of Traianopolis.²³ Since all of these depict doors divided into four panels, he argues that they date before the first five items in the Uşak group, and suggests that the workshop may have moved from the smaller to the larger city.²⁴ However, his observation does not provide conclusive evidence that the workshop moved. The natural headquarters for such a workshop would be close to the quarry

²² Tabbernee 1997: 61–86, nos. 3–8. ²³ Waelkens 1986: 152–4, nos. 386–91.

²⁴ Waelkens 1986: 145. Waelkens speculated that the grounds for this supposed move could have been purely economic, but might also reflect religious issues, and suggested the scenario that the stone-cutters were themselves Montanist Christians who found a more congenial environment in Temenouthyrai than in Traianopolis. This suggestion was adopted by Levick and Mitchell, *MAMA X*, xxxvii, but rightly treated as unnecessarily speculative by Tabbernee 1997: 85.



Figure 8.1. Funerary doorstone of bishop Artemidoros (c. AD 180). Waelkens 1986: no. 366 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

itself.²⁵ Finished items could then have been transported to nearby cities, or monuments could have been moved in half-finished state from their original quarry or quarries, and finished off by the workshop's expert stone-cutters at their respective destinations.

1. Single doorstone, H. 1.05 m; W. c. 1.00 m. Above the door panel in the arched niche there is a three-legged table supporting a plain disc, resembling an undecorated wreath, which encloses a simple Latin cross. Gibson 1975: 435, no. 2; Waelkens 1986: 146–7, no. 366 with pl. 55 ('Wohl erste Jahrzehnte des 3. Jhs.');

Tabbernee 1997: 62–6, no. 3. Mitchell date c. AD 180. Figure 8.1.

²⁵ Waelkens 1986: 145, n. 357 refers to quarries at Selvioğlu, 10 km west of Uşak, but it has not been established that they were the source of the marble used for the Uşak and Çarikköy doorstones; see also Asgari 1981.



Figure 8.2. Funerary doorstone of unknown individual (c. AD 180). Waelkens 1986: no. 368 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

Δειογᾶς Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἐβισκόπῳ
ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ μνήμης χάριν

(‘Diogas, for bishop Artemidoros, from church funds, in memory.’)

2. Narrow double doorstone, H. 1.08 m; W. 1.05 m. No Christian symbols are visible in the decoration. The left door has a comb in the arch, distaff and spindle in the upper left and a key plate in the upper right panel; the right door has a plough in the arch, a closed diptych in the upper left and a key plate in the upper right panel. Waelkens 1986: 148, no. 368 with pl. 55 (‘Wohl gleichzeitig mit Nr. 366’ [no. 1 above]). Mitchell date c. AD 180. Figure 8.2.

[– –]ῖω μνή[μης χάριν]

[– –]ς ἑαυτῷ [– –]

(‘For . . . in memory . . . for himself.’)

3. ‘Small funerary door, decorated with spindle, distaff and small box’ (Körte). The monument has not been seen since it was copied by K. Buresch in 1895, and published from his papers by Körte 1902: 31, no. 55. Waelkens 1986: 147–8, no. 367 (‘Nach Nr. 366 [no. 1 above]’; ‘vielleicht schon 2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.’); Tabbernee 1997: 66–72, no. 4. Mitchell date *c.* AD 185.

Διογᾶς ἐβίσκο-
πος Ἀμμίω πρεσ-
βυτέρῳ μνήμης
χάριν

(‘Bishop Diogas, for the [female] priest Ammion, in memory.’)

4. Double doorstone, H. 1.17 m; W. 1.27 m. The left arch appears to be empty; top door-panels contain a comb and a scent bottle; bottom door panels a basket and a mirror. The right arch contains a large plain disc; top panels have a writing scroll and a pen case (*kalamothēkē*). There are no recognizable Christian symbols. Keil and Premerstein 1911: 139, no. 262; Waelkens 1986: 148, no. 369 with pl. 55 (‘Stilistisch zwischen Nr. 366. 368 und Nr. 371–375’; ‘Vielleicht schon Anfang des 2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.’). Mitchell date: *c.* AD 180. Figure 8.3.

Τατιανὸς καὶ Κλήμης Ἰσκοπελλιανῶ π[α]τρὶ
γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ μητρὶ Σεουήρῳ ζώσῃ μνήμης χάριν

(‘Tatianos and Clemens for Iskopellianos, their dearest father, and their still living mother Severa, in memory.’)

5. Double doorstone, H. 1.30 m; W. *c.* 1.40 m. The left arch contains a fleshy vegetal decoration; the upper section of the door has a single horizontal panel displaying a book roll and a pen case. The right arch contains a pruning hook; and the upper section of the door shows a plough. There are no recognizable Christian symbols. Waelkens 1986: 148, no. 370 with pl. 55 (‘Wohl 2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.’). Figure 8.4.

[– μνήμ]ης χά[ριν]

(‘ . . . in memory.’)



Figure 8.3. Funerary doorstone of Iskopellianos and Severa (c. AD 180). Waelkens 1986: no. 369 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

6. Double doorstone, H. 1.22 m; W. c. 1.00 m. The left arch contains a stylized palmette, and the door has a single panel with a large mirror, a scent bottle and a comb. The right arch has a fleshy vegetal motif, and the single panel of the door shows an open diptych above a book roll. There are no recognizable Christian symbols. Gibson 1975: 439–42, no. 4; Drew-Bear 1979: 299–301, with pl. 8a (*SEG* 29, 1417); Waelkens 1986: 148–9, no. 371 with pl. 56 (‘Wohl kurz nach Nr. 370 [no. 5 above]’; ‘wahrscheinlich im 2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.’). Mitchell date c. AD 190. Figure 8.5.

κεῖται κάλος ἔχουσα κρίνοις λάμπροισιν ὁμοῖα
 [Σ]εουήρα, ἥθους μὲν σεμνοῦ δι’ ὃ καὶ [ἐ]κ πάντων ἐφιλήθη·
 ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος πληροῦσα πρόμοιρος ἀπῆλθεν·
 Κλήμης τῇ θυγατρὶ Σεουήρα μνήμης χάριν

(‘Severa lies here, possessing beauty, like to splendid lilies, with her noble character for which she was loved by everyone. After completing her



Figure 8.4. Funerary doorstone of anonymous individual. Waelkens 1986: no. 370 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

eighteenth year she has departed before her fated time. Clemens, for his daughter Severa, in memory.’)

7. Single doorstone, H. c. 1.30 m; W. c. 1.00 m. The left arch contains a spindle and distaff and the field is not separated from the door panel below it, which contains a large mirror, comb and scent bottle. The right arch has a schematic fleshy vegetal design. The door panel contains a wreath of overlapping plaits surrounding a cross, placed on a circular, three-legged table. Gibson 1975: 434–5, no. 1; Waelkens 1986: 149, no. 372 with pl. 56 (‘etwas jünger als Nr. 371 [no. 6 above]’; ‘2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.’); Tabbernee 1997: 76–9, no. 6. Mitchell date c. AD 200–210. Figure 8.6.

Μαρκία Λουκίῳ ἀδελφοτέκνῳ
καὶ Τατίῳ τῇ γ[υ]-



Figure 8.5. Funerary doorstone of Severa (c. AD 190). Waelkens 1986: no. 371 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

ναὶκὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν

(‘Marcia for Lucius her nephew and Tatia his wife, in memory.’)

8. Double doorstone, H. 1.09 m; W. 1.28 m. The left arch has a comb and scent bottle, and the single door panel contains a large mirror. The right arch is empty. The door panel has a cross in a wreath, resting on a table with a flat surface and two elaborate legs. The wreath has the appearance of an eight-pointed star or sun motif displayed on a flat disc. Waelkens 1986: 149–50, no. 373 with pl. 56 (‘kurz nach Nr. 371. 372 [nos. 6 and



Figure 8.6. Funerary doorstone of Lucius and Tatia (c. AD 200–210). Waelkens 1986: no. 372 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

7 above]’); Tabbernee 1997: 80–2, no. 7. Mitchell date c. AD 200–210. Figure 8.7.

Ἀσκληπιάδης Μέλτης καὶ σεαυτῷ μνήμης χάριν
(‘Asklepiades for Melte (?) and himself, in memory.’)

9. Double doorstone, H. 1.15 m; W. 1.23 m. The left arch contains a comb, and the single door panel has a mirror and scent bottle above a pruning hook and a mattock. The right arch is empty, but the representation of a cross in a wreath on a two-legged table, very similar to the depiction on no. 8, extends from the main panel into the area of the archivolt.



Figure 8.7. Funerary doorstone of Asklepiades and Melte (c. AD 200–210). Waelkens 1986: no. 373 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

Below there is a bow enclosing a spindle, for spinning wool. Keil and Premierstein 1911: 139, no. 263; Gibson 1975: 437, figs. 1–2; Waelkens 1986: 150, no. 374, with fig. 46 and pl. 56 ('wahrscheinlich kurz nach Nr. 373 [no. 8 above]'; '2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.');

Tabbernee 1997: 82–6, no. 8. Mitchell date c. AD 210. Figure 8.8.

[– –] ἀνέτησεν μνήμης χάριν

('... set up, in memory.')

10. Double doorstone, H. 1.16 m; W. 1.46 m. The door panels and arched niches are not separated. The left door shows a large mirror, with a comb and basket below it to the left and a scent bottle to the right. The right door is taken up by the representation of a cross in a wreath on a two-legged table, in the same style as nos. 8 and 9. Gibson 1975: 436–9, no. 3; Drew-Bear 1979: 301, with pl. 8.2 (*SEG* 29, 1418); Waelkens 1986: 150, no. 375 with pl. 56 ('Wohl 2. Viertel des 3. Jhs.');

Tabbernee 1997: 72–6, no. 5. Mitchell date c. AD 215. Figure 8.9.

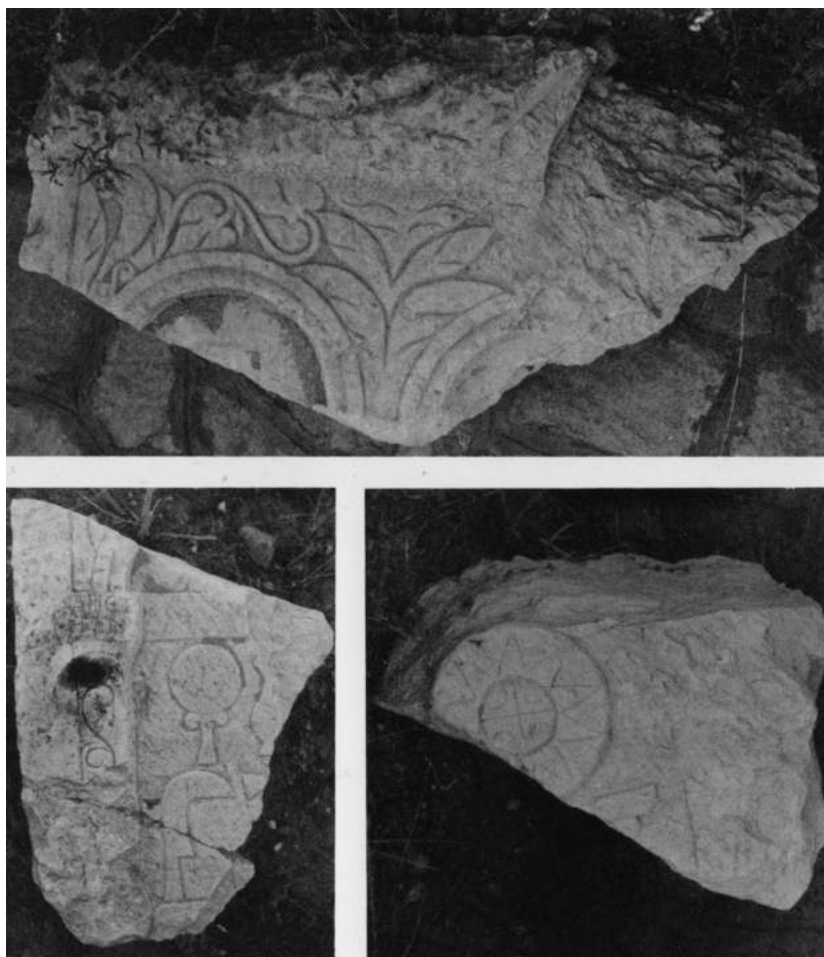


Figure 8.8. Funerary doorstone of anonymous individual (c. AD 210). Waelkens 1986: no. 374 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

Αὐρ. Τατιανὴ ἑαυτῇ ζώσα σεαυτῇ καὶ Διογᾶ συνβ[ί]ω
ἐβισκόπῳ μνήμης χάριν

(‘Aurelia Tatiane herself while living, for herself and for her husband
bishop Diogas, in memory.’)

11. Double doorstone. The left panel has a mirror and comb above a basket and a ‘Deckelkanne’, perhaps a scent bottle. The right panel has four plump vessels (‘bauchige Gefäße’) placed on a circular decorated tray (‘auf rundem geschmückten Untersatz’). Keil and Premerstein 1911: 136, no. 251; Waelkens 1986: 150–1, no. 376 (‘Wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig mit Nr. 371–374 [nos. 6–9 above]’). Mitchell date c. AD 215.



Figure 8.9. Funerary doorstone of Tatiane and bishop Diogas (c. AD 215). Waelkens 1986: no. 375 (Temenouthyrai–Uşak).

[A]ὐρ. Τ[ι]τιανῇ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα [καὶ]
 [Μ]αρκιανῶ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ [σ]υ[ν]-
 [βί]ῳ ἀνέσστησεν μνήμης χάριν
 [καὶ] τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς Μαρκιανῶ
 ζῶντι

(‘Aurelia Titiane set this up while living for herself and for Marcianus her sweetest husband, and for her son Marcianus while living.’)

Unlike many of the supposed Christian inscriptions of Phrygia several of these monuments are unambiguously Christian. They mention two bishops, Artemidoros (no. 1) and Diogas, who appears three times (nos. 1 – not yet as bishop – 3 and 10), and one doorstone was set up for a female clergy member, a *presbytera* (no. 3). The gravestone of Artemidoros was paid for ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ, ‘from the Lord’s funds’. The phrase is hard to parallel, but given the Christian context of this group of epitaphs, all commentators have followed Elsa Gibson’s suggestion that this was a way of referring to church funds.²⁶ Five of the Temenouthyrai doorstones, including all the ones set up

²⁶ Gibson 1975: 436; Waelkens 1986: 147; Tabbernee 1997: 64. As Gibson observed, there are no close parallels. It should be noted that when the adjective *κυριακός* does appear on inscriptions of the Imperial period it usually refers to the emperors, for instance the reference to the

by or for the bishops, display the Christian cross in a very striking context, framed in a wreath, or a wreath-like design, which is placed on an elaborate table (nos. 1, 7, 8, 9, and 10). The wreath on no. 1, the earliest of the series according to Waelkens, is quite plain, but stands on a three-legged table. The wreath on no. 7 has a conventional plaited appearance, perhaps representing twisted or overlapping laurel leaves, and we see not only the three legs but also the circular top of the supporting table. The other four examples, nos. 8–11, show a very similar design. The wreath around the cross displays the rays of a crown or of the sun. The table is represented two-dimensionally with a flat top resting on two elaborately carved legs.

The nature of the Christian symbolism represented by the cross within a wreath, placed on a table, has been a discussion point. Gibson proposed that the design showed a communion dish, a paten, within a star-shaped wreath, placed on a communion table.²⁷ Waelkens preferred to see the motif as the eucharistic bread itself, baked in the form of a crown or wreath, for which he coined the term ‘Kranzbrot’.²⁸ Gibson added a point made by I. Ševčenko, that the symbol should identify a member of the clergy, but while the symbol appears on the gravestones of the two bishops (nos. 1 and 9), it appears not to have been displayed on that of the *presbyter* (no. 3). Conversely it is found on nos. 7, 8 and 9, which were not made for members of the clergy, unless their titles have been omitted. It is simpler to interpret the motif less literally, as a representation of the triumph of Christianity, the cross within a wreath, combined in three cases with the design of a sun’s rays, imagery which had the effect of transforming a simple wreath into a resplendent crown.²⁹ The same combination of images is prominent and unambiguous on the important series of ‘Christians for Christians’ monuments of the later third century from the Upper Tembris valley, which display a cross within a plaited wreath centrally placed above the inscriptions of these funerary *stelai*.³⁰ Several Phrygian Christian gravestones carved by less skilled masons simplify the motif to a simple cross in a circle, and should

kyriakon tameion (SEG 35, 1355: Pontos), the *kyriakos fiscus* (SEG 32, 1349: Miletos), or to imperial estates (SEG 38, 1466: Oinoanda). However, that sense does not seem possible here.

²⁷ Gibson 1975: 437, with nn. 12 and 13 (‘our representation of the Eucharist surrounded by a wreath is unique as far as I know’).

²⁸ Waelkens 1986: 147, with nn. 364–6. Tabbernee 1997: 64–5 summarizes Gibson’s and Waelkens’ discussions.

²⁹ For discussion of the motif in relation to the vision of Constantine, see Weiss 2003, especially 249–50 and 253–6.

³⁰ Gibson 1978: nos. 3–15, with pl. 5–15. Essentially the only difference in the Tembris valley series is that the cross has an extended stem, in contrast to the symmetrical Latin crosses of the Uşak group.

also be interpreted in the same sense, rather than as literal representations of the *panis eucharisticus*.³¹

Less attention has been paid to the table than to the cross. Waelkens suggests that the *mensa tripes* was ‘the usual portable altar from the pre-Constantinian period’.³² This may be another case of over-interpretation, especially if the symbol is not seen as exclusive to the clergy. A three-legged table was depicted on innumerable funerary banquet reliefs, which were a staple of Greek funerary art through the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.³³ These depictions are doubtless intended to evoke the commemorative meals held by family members to honour the dead, a ritual that was accommodated in special dining rooms attached to more important tombs.³⁴ Peter Thonemann suggests that in the funerary art of the Hellenistic world and the eastern Roman provinces, elaborate tables were a universally recognized status symbol, a metaphor for the standard of living that the family of the deceased had enjoyed and an indication of their social and economic status. This observation draws attention to a wider issue, that the doorstones produced by this workshop were high-quality craft products, and used by a well-off section of the Temenouthyrai community.

Only one of the series has been published without an illustration, the gravestone put up by bishop Diogas for Ammion, described as a female clergy-member (no. 3). Much hangs on the accurate reading of the word *πρεσβυτέρα*, rather than the banal *πρεσβύτερος*, but the gender is confirmed by the dative name-form *Ἀμμίῳ*, which must derive from the feminine *Ἀμμιον*, one of the commonest women’s names in western Anatolia.³⁵ Female Christian presbyters are virtually, if not completely, unknown in the mainstream Christianity of the early Church, but Epiphanius and Augustine both report that the Montanists, at least in the later Empire, had female clergy: ‘bishops, priests and the rest’.³⁶ Two explanations present themselves to explain this divergence from regular Christian habit. One

³¹ References in Waelkens 1986: 147, n. 367 and Tabbernee 1997: 65. See further Levick and Mitchell, *MAMA X*, xxx.

³² Waelkens 1986: 147, n. 368.

³³ Pfuhl and Möbius 1977–9: II 363–6 for typological analysis: ‘bei weitem die meisten rund mit drei Tierbeinen’.

³⁴ Braune 2008.

³⁵ See Tabbernee 1997: 67 and *LGPV* V.1, 26–7, three columns of examples of Ammion (f.); no examples of Ammios (m.).

³⁶ Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* §49.2.5: ἐπίσκοποι τε πᾶρ’ αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα; Augustine, *Haer.* 27 (referring to the Quintillians, followers of Quintilla): *tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorerentur* (‘granting so much prominence to women that they were even given the honour of being priests among them’).

was obviously the extraordinary prominence that women acquired among Montanists from its earliest days. The first prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, were not only closely associated with Montanos but have even been regarded as the co-founders of the movement.³⁷ Even more remarkable was Quintilla. Epiphanius reported that it was she who in a dream had seen a vision at Pepouza of Christ dressed in women's clothing, announcing that it was here that Jerusalem would be manifested.³⁸ Jewish influence may have also played its part. Textual and epigraphic evidence from Late Antiquity reveal that there were many links in ritual practice and cult organization between Jews and Christians in Asia Minor.³⁹ The custom of recognizing female presbyters may have been a Jewish practice which was adopted by the Montanists.⁴⁰

Ammion's inscription provides the only positive material argument for identifying the Uşak doorstones as Montanist, although, as we have seen, the geographical location of Temenouthyrai coheres well with the identification of Pepouza and Tymion. Although the presence of a woman priest is certainly significant in establishing a relationship between the Temenouthyrai doorstones and Montanist practice, it is questionable whether this one fact alone suffices to establish that all the members of this group were avowed followers of the Montanist movement, and the appearance of female clergy is not in principle to be excluded from the practice of other early Christian communities. This is an issue for wider discussion at the end of this chapter.

The chronology of the texts also needs attention. None of the inscriptions is datable by any clear-cut criterion, but we can suggest a chronological order for the three inscriptions that mention Diogas (nos. 1, 3 and 10), and place the epitaph for bishop Artemidoros, set up by Diogas before he had become the chosen successor,⁴¹ at the head of the series (no. 1). Subsequently, after being made bishop, Diogas took charge of the burial of the *presbytera* Ammion (no. 3). Waelkens points to the stylistic resemblance between nos. 1, 2 and 4, notably that all have four door panels, like the whole

³⁷ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.9; 17.2–4; 18.3; see Tabbernee 1997: 19.

³⁸ Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* §48.14.1–3; and especially Quintilla's report of her dream, cited at §49.1.3: ἐν ἰδέᾳ, φησί, γυναικός, σχηματισμένος ἐν στολῇ λαμπρᾷ ἦλθε πρὸς με Χριστός καὶ ἐνέβαλεν ἐν ἐμοὶ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι τουτοῖ τὸν τόπον εἶναι ἅγιον καὶ ὧδε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατιέναι. The date of Quintilla is quite uncertain. She is not named in Eusebius' account, which was based on his late second- and early third-century sources. However, the story of her vision makes best sense during the early phase of the movement.

³⁹ See Millar 2004 for Lydian *Tessareskaidekatitai* who, like many Asian Christians, celebrated Easter on 14 Nisan, the day of the Passover; Mitchell 2005a.

⁴⁰ See Mitchell 2005a: 219, n. 52, citing Brooten 1982; Tabbernee 1997: 68–9.

⁴¹ Gibson 1975: 436; Drew-Bear 1979: 301, n. 116.

group produced by the same workshop at Çarikköy (see above, n. 23); no. 3, may have been similar, but has not survived. Diogas either already or in due course married, and his wife set up their shared grave monument, the double doorstone no. 10. Crucially her name was Aurelia Tatiane, and we can thus date the inscription after AD 212. No. 10 is one of the three monuments that display the developed form of the cross displayed in a wreath with the sun's rays. The others, nos. 8 and 9, should be very close to no. 10 in date.

Waelkens attached chronological importance to the way in which the door panels are divided in the design of the stones. Nos. 8–10 have doors with a single undivided panel, as do nos. 6 and 7. Nos. 9 and 10 have developed to the point that the combined arch and door panel has evolved into a single niche. Although Waelkens is surely right to emphasize the close typological and chronological relationship between nos. 1–4 and nos. 8–10, his suggestion that the overall design scheme developed chronologically from a schema showing four to two door panels and eventually to a single decorated field needs to be questioned. An unpublished single doorstone from the same series and the same workshop, noted by Peter Thonemann in Uşak Museum, shows a door divided into four panels below a separate field in the arch, a style which should fall early in the series according to Waelkens' analysis, but which was in fact set up after AD 212 by a bearer of the pseudo-praenomen Aurelius. The workshop retained the design option of four-panelled doorstones up to the end of the series.

More importantly, there are onomastic grounds for arguing that the absolute dates proposed by Waelkens are between twenty and thirty years too late. Only two persons in the published group carry the pseudo-praenomen Aurelius, conferred by the *constitutio Antoniniana*, Aurelia Tatiane in no. 10, and Aurelia Titiane (although Tatiane could also be read here) in no. 11. The other stones should all be dated before AD 212, and 10 and 11 can hardly be much later. So, we may estimate that bishop Diogas died c. AD 212–15. There is no certainty about how long his office had lasted, but it is a reasonable guess that his predecessor, Artemidoros, had died around thirty years earlier, c. AD 180, and we can therefore place Ammion's doorstone in the intervening period. On stylistic grounds the Christian gravestones set up by Asklepiades for Melte (no. 8) and by the unknown dedicator of no. 9, are close to the end date of the series, shortly before AD 212. No. 7, put up by Marcia for her nephew Lucius and his wife Tatia, with its divergent but simpler cross-in-wreath design, might be slightly earlier. These proposals

are, of course, fully consistent with the absence of Aurelii from all these texts.⁴²

Waelkens recognized that the decoration of the Temenouthyrai group was in part modelled on the doorstone production of the Aizanoi workshops,⁴³ which he catalogued and dated between the Hadrianic period and the early third century, with the bulk of the production to be dated around the middle or in the third quarter of the second century.⁴⁴ If the Temenouthyrai and Çarık Köy series of doorstones are placed around twenty to thirty years earlier than the dates proposed by Waelkens, they cohere better with the chronology of the doorstones from Aizanoi, whose overall design they closely follow. Waelkens' datings of the Aizanoi examples are confirmed in a subsequent detailed examination by Kai Jes,⁴⁵ whose study, based on new finds in the north *necropolis* of Aizanoi, has the additional benefit of explaining the architectonic context of the most elaborate series of Aizanoi doorstones, types VI and VII according to Waelkens' classification. These highly decorated single, double or triple doorstones were placed on monolithic carved and decorated stone plinths, and were capped by impressive separate projecting gables, which displayed a full decorative schema of architrave, frieze, and pediment with consoles and cornices. The combined elements of the monuments were around 3.70 metres high, and their facades created the impression of monumental tomb buildings.⁴⁶ The Temenouthyrai series, although they are smaller and less lavishly decorated, resemble examples

⁴² Tabbernee 1997: 62–86 assumes earlier dates than Waelkens for the Christian inscriptions, before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, without offering detailed arguments. Gibson 1975 does not attempt to date the texts.

⁴³ See Waelkens 1986: 144: 'Das normale Dekorationsschema der Paneele zeigt im 2. Jh. und um die Wende zum 3. Jh. oben links eine Rosette oder ein Gerät, rechts ein rundes Schloßblech, unten, wie in Aizanoi und wohl von dort übernommen, je einen stilisierten Türklopfer um eine Schildplatte innerhalb einer Raute.' See also 145: 'Für den Beginn der Produktion bilden die starken aizanitischen Einflüsse, die z. B. im unteren Paneelenschmuck und in Sepulkralsymbolen wie Adler, Obstkorb und Löwen aus einem Rinderkopf zum Ausdruck kommen, gute chronologische Anhaltspunkte: So ergibt sich aus dem Vergleich des Kapitell- und Rankenschmucks mit aizanitischen Türsteinen sowie aus Ähnlichkeiten mit Ranken aus Aizanoi und Akmoneia für Nr. 386 und 387 eine Datierung im 3. Viertel des 2. Jhs. bzw. in spätantoninische Zeit.'

⁴⁴ See Waelkens 1986: 46–9; *MAMA IX*, xlv–xlvi. Waelkens also dated the series of simpler Aizanoi grave monuments, the 'separate gables', in the form of a door lintel which could be placed on an architectural base, to the Hadrianic-Antonine period (*MAMA IX*, xlv–xlv). Many examples of this type carry era dates, which were thought to be reckoned from the Actian era of 31 BC (see *MAMA IX*, lvii). However, Wörrle 1995 has since demonstrated that Aizanoi, like the majority of Phrygian cities, employed the Sullan era of 85 BC, and this series accordingly dates mostly to the Flavian period. There is thus no chronological overlap between the separate gables and the main series of Aizanoi doorstones.

⁴⁵ Jes 2001. ⁴⁶ Jes 2001: 293.

from Aizanoi types VI and VII not only in the decorative layout, but also in their architectural design. They all have flat tops designed to support a pediment and must have stood on plinths, thus forming 'Fassadenmonumente' similar to the lavish Aizanoi examples.

The non-Christian monuments from the Temenouthyrai series fit comfortably into this proposed chronology, and also confirm that this tomb type was used by people of high status in the city. No. 11, of which no photograph exists, is placed at the end of the sequence on onomastic grounds. There are stylistic arguments to place no. 2 near the beginning and nos. 5 and 6 in the middle of the series. But there is another reason for placing no. 4 near the beginning of the sequence and suggesting that it should be dated to the same period as the proposed date for the death of bishop Artemidoros. This was set up by the brothers Tatianos and Clemens for their father Iskopellianos. The last name is eye-catching. Only one Skopelianos appears in *LGPV* V.1, the famous sophist of Klazomenai, who interceded with the emperor Domitian to rescind his edict that all the vines of the province of Asia should be uprooted.⁴⁷ But the name also occurs at Temenouthyrai, where three coin types minted under Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) refer to a Skopelianos who dedicated these respective coin issues to the people of the city. In the provisional numbering of the online catalogue of the Roman Provincial Coinage project, the issues are:

2179: Obv. IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ; Rev. ΣΚΟΠΕΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΘΗΜΕΝΟΘΗΡΕΥ(ΣΙ)
(Fig. 8.10);

2991: Obv. ΘΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ; Rev. [ΣΚΟΠΕΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΕΥΞΙ
ΘΗΜ[ΕΝΟ]ΘΗΡΕΥΣΙ (Fig. 8.11);

3347: Obv. ΑΥ ΚΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ; Rev. ΣΚΟΠΕ ΘΗΜΕΝΟΘΗΡΕΥΣΙ (Fig. 8.12).⁴⁸

In the third century a councillor at Temenouthyrai called Aurelius Skopelianos, son of Zeuxis, supervised the setting up of a statue base which had been proposed by the council for Aurelius Clodius Eutyches, a Roman knight, with funds provided by the city in recognition of his benefactions.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *PIR*² S 252. For the life of the sophist see Philostr. *VS* 1.21 (514–521K). His pupils when he taught at Smyrna included Ionians, Lydians, Karians, Maionians, Aiolians and also Greeks from Mysia and Phrygia (518K), and could certainly have included followers from Temenouthyrai, but no further link with the city is apparent.

⁴⁸ See *Roman Provincial Coinage*: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/> (on-line). I also warmly thank Dr Angela Berthold (Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) and Dr Kay Ehling (Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich) for providing the coin images that appear in Figs. 8.10–12.

⁴⁹ *IGR* IV 615, reproduced by Drew-Bear 1979: 294, no. 4.



Figure 8.10. Temenouthyrai, AD 150–161 (Æ). Bust of personified senate / Men standing l., with pine-cone and sceptre (RPC Online 2179).



Figure 8.11. Temenouthyrai, AD 150–161 (Æ). Laureate bust of Temenos / Zeus standing l., with eagle and sceptre (RPC Online 2991).



Figure 8.12. Temenouthyrai, AD 150–161 (Æ). Laureate bust of Antoninus Pius / Athena standing r., with spear and shield (RPC Online 3347).

The recurrent names Skopelianos and Zeuxis leave no doubt that we are dealing with the same family. It would be economical and may be correct to identify the Antonine benefactor Skopelianos, son of Zeuxis, with the recipient of doorstone no. 4, which was erected by Tatianos and Clemens, their sons, for their father Iskopellianos and Severa, his still living wife. On the doorstone the name appears in non-standard form, with prothetic *iota* and a double consonant, both characteristic features of the vernacular Greek of Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period. A more orthodox form of spelling occurs on the coin issues.⁵⁰ A senior member of the civic elite between AD 138 and 161, who was active towards the end of this period, could well have lived on until around AD 180, the stylistic date of the tombstone. The rareness of the name and the chronological fit are arguments for this identification, but it remains uncertain. The epitaph makes no mention of the Zeuxis who was father of Aurelius Skopelianos. He may belong to the generation after Tatianos and Clemens, and could have been one of their children. Clemens set up doorstone no. 6 for his eighteen-year-old daughter Severa, named after her grandmother, evidently before AD 212, and perhaps around 190. Zeuxis could belong to the same generation. In that case the chronology of the family could be reconstructed as follows:

Zeuxis I, born c. AD 80.

Skopelianos/Iskopellianos, son of Zeuxis I, born c. AD 110, minted coins AD 150–160; died c. AD 180. His wife Severa I dies later.

Tatianos and Clemens, sons of Skopelianos/Iskopellianos, born c. AD 130–140.

Severa II, daughter of Clemens, died c. AD 190 aged 18.

Zeuxis II, elder brother or cousin of Severa II, born c. AD 170 or earlier, died before AD 212.

Aur. Skopelianos, son of Zeuxis II, born c. AD 195, who lived past AD 212.

The gravestone of Iskopellianos is a further demonstration that neither he nor any of the other individuals whose burials are commemorated in this group of doorstones was part of the lower class at Temenothyrai. The whole group were local citizens of substance, belonging to families which did not acquire Roman citizenship before AD 212, but had assimilated the Romanized cultural norms which were now widespread in the Greek cities of Asia. Many, as can be seen, adopted Roman nomenclature: Clemens, Lucia, Marcia, Marcianus and Severa, a group that sits comfortably alongside the

⁵⁰ Brixhe 2010, especially 234 (geminated consonants), and 247 (prothetic *iota*). Gibson 1975: 441, n. 30 inclines towards the identification.

names of the first Montanists attested in the literary tradition: Maximilla, Montanos, Prisc(ill)a and Quintilla.

The Christian community evidently emerged from the wealthier end of society at Temenouthyrai in the mid-second century AD. Indeed Jerome, at the end of the fourth century, cited the first Montanists for this very reason:

Montanos, mouthpiece of an unclean spirit, used two high-born and wealthy ladies, Prisca and Maximilla, first to corrupt many churches with gold and then to pollute them with heresy.⁵¹

He elaborated further in his *De viris illustribus*, translating a tirade from the early third-century anti-Montanist author Apollonios, which was quoted in its original form in Eusebios' *Church History*:

Apollonios, an exceedingly talented man, wrote a notable and lengthy volume against Montanos, Prisca and Maximilla, in which he asserts that Montanos and his mad prophetesses died by hanging, and many other things, among which he reports as follows about Prisca and Maximilla: 'if they deny that they have accepted gifts, let them confess that those who do accept gifts are not prophets; and I will prove by a thousand witnesses that they have received gifts; for prophets are shown to be so by other fruits. Tell me, does a prophet dye his hair? Or stain her eyelids with antimony? Are prophets adorned with fine clothing and precious stones? Does a prophet play with a gaming-board and dice? Does he lend money at interest? Let them answer whether this ought to be permitted or not? It is my object to prove that they do these things.'⁵²

⁵¹ Jer. Ep. 133.4 (to Ctesiphon): *Montanus, immundi spiritus praedicator, multas ecclesias per Priscam et Maximillam, nobiles et opulentas feminas, primum auro corruptit, dein heresi polluit.*

⁵² Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.11: ἔὰν ἀρνῶνται δῶρα τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι, τοῦθ' ὁμολογησάτωσαν ὅτι ἔὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν εἰληφότες, οὐκ εἰσὶ προφῆται, καὶ μυρίας ἀποδείξεις τούτων παραστήσομεν. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐστὶν πάντας καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι προφήτου. προφήτης, εἰπέ μοι, βάπτεται; προφήτης στιβίζεται; προφήτης φιλοκοσμεῖ; προφήτης τάβλαις καὶ κύβοις δανείζει; ταῦτα ὁμολογησάτωσαν πότερον ἔξεστιν ἢ μὴ, ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι γέγονεν παρ' αὐτοῖς, δείξω. Jerome's Latin version emphasizes that this attack was primarily directed at Montanos' wealthy female associates: Jer. *De vir. ill.* 40: *Apollonius, vir disertissimus, scripsit adversus Montanum, Priscam et Maximillam insigne et longum volumen, in quo asserit Montanum, et insanas vates eius periisse suspendio, et multa alia, in quibus de Prisca et Maximilla refert: Si negant eas accepisse munera, confiteantur non esse Prophetas, qui accipiunt: et mille hoc testibus approbabo. Sed et ex aliis fructibus probantur Prophetae. Dic mihi, crinem fucat Prophetes? Stibio oculos linit? Prophetae vestibus et gemmis ornantur? Prophetes tabula ludit et tesseris? Propheta fenus accipit? Respondeant, utrum hoc fieri liceat, an non: meum est approbare, quod fecerint.* Jerome follows his quotation by stating that Apollonios flourished under Commodus and Septimius Severus, and wrote this work forty years after the first Montanist prophecies, and that the seventh book of Tertullian's *De Ecstasi*, added after the first six, was an attack on him. This has been taken to date Apollonios' work around AD 210; see Barnes 1970.

In fact it is clear from the reports in Eusebios' *Church History* that one of the main grounds for Apollonios' attack on the first Montanists was their excessive reliance on wealth and money:

(Montanos was the man who . . .) gave Pepouza and Tymion (these are small cities of Phrygia) the name Jerusalem, wishing to bring them [sc. his followers] together there from every side, who established money collectors, who organized the taking of gifts, calling them contributions, who provided salaries for those who proclaimed his doctrine, so that the teaching of the doctrine should become strong through gluttony.⁵³

The epitaphs from Temenouthyrai show that the earliest attested Christians from Temenouthyrai, near contemporaries and possibly members of the same citizen body as Montanos, were substantial members of provincial society. They thus provide indirect support for Apollonios' and Jerome's claims, that the founders of the Montanist movement were persons of substance.

The social position and background of these early Montanists was not unusual in the wider context of Early Phrygian Christianity. The epigraphy of the cities of Phrygia makes it possible to locate Christian and Jewish groups not only geographically but also in terms of their social class and in their relation to other groups in provincial society. By the second quarter of the third century AD, Christians, usually identifiable by the use of the so-called Eumeneian formula on their grave monuments ('He will have to reckon with God', ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν)⁵⁴ were numerous at the south Phrygian cities of Apameia and neighbouring Eumeneia. Over twenty probably Christian inscriptions of this kind have been recorded,⁵⁵ most of them on substantial, well-carved gravestones, including some often-cited examples from Eumeneia for city councillors.⁵⁶ In his ground-breaking monograph on the Maeander valley, Peter Thonemann has combined this evidence with the famous series of coin types, issued at Apameia between the reigns of Septimius Severus and Trebonianus

⁵³ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2 (a continuation of the passage already cited in n. 3 above): ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὀνομάσας (πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν αὐτὰ μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας), τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων, ὁ πρακτῆρας χρημάτων καταστήσας, ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι προσφορῶν τὴν δωροληψίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὁ σαλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς κηρύσσουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἵνα διὰ τῆς γαστρομαργίας ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου κρατύνηται.

⁵⁴ See, most recently, Trebilco 2002. ⁵⁵ Mitchell 1993: II 40–1 with nn. 243–4.

⁵⁶ A study which will collect all the pre-Constantinian Christian inscriptions of Phrygia forms part of the TOPOI project, *The Expansion of Early Christianity in Asia Minor*, directed by Prof. C. Breytenbach and C. Marksches at the Humboldt University, Berlin (www.topoi.org/project/early-christianity-in-asia-minor/).

Gallus, which depict the story of Noah's Ark, the *kibotos*, now located according to local belief in the hydrologically unstable environment of Apameia Kibotos. He suggests that the appropriation of the Noah story reflects the strength not of the Jews, as has generally been supposed, but of the Christian community at Apameia, which thereby integrated the Old Testament flood myth into the foundation legends of the city. However, since Jews and Christians were often in harmony with one another in third-century Phrygia,⁵⁷ the communities might have acted in concert to promote the Noah story as part of their heritage and of the Phrygian community which they now inhabited. This provides remarkable testimony to the integration of Apameia's Christians into the civic community. This Old Testament mythical history became a perfectly acceptable part of Apameian civic culture. Christians and Jews, in this respect at least, were at ease in their pagan surroundings.⁵⁸

A further parallel which may illuminate the social condition of Temenouthyrai's Christians may be found at the neighbouring city of Akmoneia, home to one of the largest Jewish populations in the province of Asia.⁵⁹ Ten Jewish inscriptions are known from the city, including a famous text which records renovations to the synagogue which had been built around the middle of the first century AD with funds provided by a wealthy gentile Julia Severa,⁶⁰ and the imposing funerary altars of the mid-third century, set up for prominent members of Jewish families, at least two of whom had held civic magistracies.⁶¹ It is appropriate to compare the Temenouthyrai Christians with this group, not only because the style and lavishness of their grave monuments indicate that they were of comparable wealth and background to the prominent Jews of Akmoneia, but also because their religious position was likely to have been close to that of the Jews.

The bishops Artemidoros and Diogas and their followers, who would have surely been personally acquainted with, and in the first case not much younger than Montanos, Priscilla and Maximilla, asserted their social status by choosing burial monuments that were appropriate for the city's curial class. They belonged to a religious movement that emerged from the mainstream of provincial society.

⁵⁷ See Mitchell 1993: II 35, and Mitchell 2005a. Both Christians and Jews used the Eumenian formula to protect their tombs (see Trebilco 2002).

⁵⁸ Thonemann 2011a: 88–98; for extensive discussion of the myths of Apameia, see J. Nollé 2006: 60–131.

⁵⁹ Mitchell 1993: II 35 with documentation; Ameling 2004: 345–80. ⁶⁰ Ameling 2004: no. 168.

⁶¹ Ameling 2004: no. 172 (T. Flavius Alexandros, AD 243–4); no. 173 (erected by Aur. Frugianus, AD 248–9).

However, the evidence from Temenouthyrai throws up a serious and unexplained paradox. On the one hand, the city's clergy and their followers visibly belonged to mainstream society. Through their grave monuments they represented themselves as confident, prosperous and well-integrated members of the civic elite, potentially or actually members of the curial class. On the other hand, probably within the term of office of bishop Artemidoros, who died around AD 180, the founders of the Montanist movement, also relatively wealthy inhabitants of the region, perhaps indeed of the very same city, had rejected this integration entirely. It is a measure of the eschatological passion of the Phrygian Montanists that it led them to create a religious centre, a new Jerusalem, on the margins of contemporary secular society in the obscure location of Pepouza.

It is a matter of astonishment that groups of Judaeo-Christians in Phrygia, including wealthy and respectable members of the community, chose to realize the prophecy in pragmatic fashion. To move, as Montanos and his followers did, from the prospering provincial society of Temenouthyrai and other Phrygian cities to Pepouza and Tymion, there to create Jerusalem, which had been in living memory annihilated by Rome, was no less drastic and radical a step than the decision of Phrygian Christians to court martyrdom at the hands of Roman officials in the name of their religious beliefs. There is much here that is yet to be explained or fully understood. The Montanist form of Christianity, the belief that Jerusalem was to be relocated at Pepouza, must have been nurtured by the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem by the forces of Vespasian and Titus in AD 70, and by the annihilation of the Jews of Palestine in the Bar-Kochva revolt in AD 132–5, which led to the replacement of their city by the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina. After the devastation caused by Hadrian's war,⁶² the future for God's people had to be secured through the Diaspora. It is no surprise in this context that the foundation of a new Jerusalem should have been a subject of prophecy.

The primary inspiration was surely the Apocalypse of St John, which represented an extreme Christian reinvention of the Jewish prophetic tradition, pitching the revelation of a new heavenly Jerusalem against the bestial image of Roman Imperial power.⁶³ Montanos, Priscilla and Maximilla, from

⁶² Eck 2007a; Eck 2007b.

⁶³ The date of the composition of the Book of Revelation has been endlessly discussed. In two books (Witulski 2007a and 2007b), T. Witulski has made a worthwhile case for dating the composition to the late Hadrianic period, in the context of the Jewish War against Rome led by Bar-Kochva, and has developed further arguments in a new study (Witulski 2012). Decisively in favour of AD 69, Barnes 2010: 36–40.

wealthy Phrygian families, chose to interpret the message of Revelation literally, and measure out the boundaries of the new heavenly city in a remote part of their own province:⁶⁴

The angel who talked to me had a measuring rod of gold to measure the city and its gates and walls. The city lies foursquare, its length the same as its width; and he measured the city with his rod, fifteen hundred miles; its length and width and height are equal. He also measured its wall, one hundred and forty-four cubits by human measurement, which the angel was using.

Montanos and his companions denied that the apostolic age had ended in the generation after the Crucifixion, and claimed that their own visions were prophetically inspired. However, they were also clearly driven by a spirit of competition and emulation. Montanos, a new convert in the first flush of religious enthusiasm, provoked the criticism of Apollonios, and doubtless also of his contemporaries, by his sheer zeal to outshine them, for his φιλοπρωτεία ('desire for leadership').⁶⁵ Social and political competitiveness was an inescapable element in the political life of the cities of Asia Minor during the second century, expressed both in competition between individuals and between cities. The spirit of competition could readily be transferred into the Christian environment. Moreover a division could easily be drawn between the Christians who formed the well-assimilated congregations of Apameia, Eumeneia and, it appears, Temenouthyrai, which still maintained prominent roles in wider non-Christian society, and those, surely a minority, who made no accommodation with organized civic life or the secular Roman Empire. In the Revelation of St John the latter group had a prophetic book to inspire and reinforce their uncompromising and rejectionist stance. The same passion and the same logic drove Montanists, and those who thought like them, to seek martyrdom rather than to avoid prosecution at the hands of the Roman authorities.

In Phrygia, perhaps quite specifically at Temenouthyrai, we should see Montanos, Priscilla and Maximilla as extraordinary and uncompromising individuals, driven by the sense that they were the best and truest Christians, the only believers prepared to accept the message of the Book of Revelation

⁶⁴ Rev. 21:15–17 (trans. New Revised Standard Version): καὶ ὁ λαλῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶχεν μέτρον κάλαμον χρυσοῦν, ἵνα μετρήσῃ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς. καὶ ἡ πόλις τετράγωνος κείται, καὶ τὸ μήκος αὐτῆς ὅσον τὸ πλάτος. καὶ ἐμέτρησεν τὴν πόλιν τῷ καλᾶμῳ ἐπὶ σταδίων δώδεκα χιλιάδων· τὸ μήκος καὶ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς ἴσα ἐστίν. καὶ ἐμέτρησεν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγγέλου. For the application of this to the actual topography of Tymion and Pepouza, see the interesting study of Tabbernee 2003.

⁶⁵ Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.7, cited at n. 1.

at face value. Their credibility was reinforced by the prophetic powers which they claimed. They came into direct conflict with the majority of Christians in their own communities, who flourished precisely by avoiding extremism and confrontation. The outcome was a literal separation of the groups, as Montanos and his followers, drawing on their financial reserves,⁶⁶ left the cities to create their new community.

We should thus clearly conclude that bishops Artemidoros and Diogas, the woman priest Ammion, and the other prominent Christians of the inscriptions of Temenouthyrai between c. AD 180 and 215 were not Montanists, but precisely their opponents. They had chosen to remain, living and working with their fellow citizens, and representing a form of their faith and beliefs which must have been in practical terms fully acceptable to their non-Christian contemporaries. Montanos and his followers had chosen a quite different path, and endorsed a form of Christianity which rejected such compromises. Nevertheless, both groups had similar backgrounds and were led by relatively prominent and wealthy figures in Phrygian society of the middle and later second century AD. The form of Christianity that both endorsed was and remained deeply imbued with Jewish traditions and customs. In much of central Asia Minor, Christians and Jews worshipped together throughout Antiquity, and had a shared institutional heritage.⁶⁷

Ulrich Huttner draws attention to the fact that several of the canons of the council of Phrygian Laodikeia, to be dated between AD 341 and 381, attempted to establish clear boundaries between orthodox Christians, heretics, pagans and Jews, thus implicitly acknowledging the reality, well attested by the church historians, that Jewish–Christian fraternization was widespread. Moreover, one abbreviated canon of Laodikeia specifically addressed the problem of older women who held prominent church positions.⁶⁸ This regulation did not explicitly use the term *presbytera*, probably so as to avoid giving an appearance of legitimacy to an institution that it sought to ban, but it is a clear indication that the presence of women in would-be clerical positions was a significant phenomenon in early Christian Phrygia.

The appearance of a female priest at Temenouthyrai does not show her to be a Montanist, but shows that the mainstream Christian congregation

⁶⁶ See above, n. 53. ⁶⁷ Millar 2004; Mitchell 2005a.

⁶⁸ Laodikeia Canon 11 (ed. Joannou 1962: 135): περί τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας ἢτοι προκαθημένας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι ('concerning the subject that so-called *presbytides* or "female presidents" should not be established in the church'). I am grateful to Ulrich Huttner for drawing this to my attention. He discusses the regulation and the wider context in chapter 7 of Huttner, forthcoming.

here had its own strong traditions, divergent from later orthodoxy, which may have developed under significant Jewish influence. Phrygian Christians from their earliest history, like Christians everywhere throughout most of their history, were divided between those who were prepared to compromise with the secular world and those who chose to make a separate world of their own, in expectation of the eternal life to come. The solid and splendid doorstones of Temenouthyrai attest that these Christians had made a strong and lasting investment in their secular environment.

Introduction: Christianity in Phrygia

One of the most striking and distinctive elements of the epigraphy of Phrygia is, without doubt, the large number of Christian inscriptions dating before the reign of Constantine. With the possible exception of the neighbouring region of Lykaonia, no other part of the Roman Empire provides us with so rich a harvest of documentary material for early Christian communities; the Phrygian evidence is of capital importance for our understanding of the origins and development of the Church in the ancient Mediterranean world. The only real point of comparison is the city of Rome, with its wealth of early Christian catacomb inscriptions.¹ But the two bodies of evidence are different in kind. The gravestones of the Christians of Phrygia were erected in public cemeteries, exposed to the view of all, Christians, pagans and (in theory) local Imperial authorities. The inscriptions of the Roman catacombs had a more private, even confidential character, intended only for the eyes of other members of those Christian communities which had the right of burial in the catacomb.

Although literary sources for the development of the pre-Nicene Christian communities of the coastal regions of Asia Minor are relatively abundant – the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, the *Martyrdoms* of Polycarp and Pionios of Smyrna – the number of inscriptions relevant to these communities can more or less be counted on the fingers of one hand. For Phrygia, by contrast, where the literary texts offer us wretchedly little evidence for the character of pre-Constantinian Christianity, a wealth of inscriptions can be confidently attributed to the second- and third-century Christian communities of the region.² This material is of the first importance for our knowledge of the social status of the early Christians of Asia Minor. Although many were of humble background, several were capable of erecting lavish and expensive funerary monuments (see Mitchell, Chapter 8 above); some

¹ Pergola and Barbini 1997; Rebillard 2003; bibliography in Gwynn 2010: 37–8.

² Mitchell 1993: II 37–43. For Smyrna, see Lane Fox 1986: 460–92; Bagnall 2011: 7–26. Dated third-century Christian texts from Phrygia: Blanchetière 1981: 473; Mitchell 1993: II 40, n. 243.

belonged to the *boulē* of their native city,³ and one Christian *bouleutēs*, M. Iulius Eugenios of Laodikeia Katakekaumene, whose career spanned the late third and early fourth centuries AD, held office in the provincial bureaucracy and was married to the daughter of a senator.⁴

The Christian inscriptions of the pre-Constantinian period are extremely difficult to distinguish from their pagan counterparts. One cannot overemphasize this point: it is central to this chapter, and indeed must be a cornerstone of any study of early Christian epigraphy. Epitaphs are seldom intended as professions of faith. We ought not to expect any given individual or family, in drafting their funerary inscription, to specify their adherence to Christianity in explicit fashion, any more than their pagan counterparts did. The distinctive visual signs and verbal formulae of late antique Christian epitaphs – the various types of cross or Christogram, or phrases such as *enthade keitai* ('here lies x', apparently only used by Christians) – did not become standardized until the mid-fourth century, after the reign of Constantine.⁵ In William Calder's words, 'The Christian epitaphs lie open before us, but we are blind to them.'⁶ Students of early Christian inscriptions have, as a result, developed various criteria for identifying the Christian character of a given text, such as the use of the term *koimētērion* ('resting place') for the grave, the use of funerary curses which lack any reference to pagan deities, the onomastics of the deceased, and so forth.⁷

Before Constantine, Christianity in Asia Minor took the form of a multitude of separate, more or less isolated communities, clearly distinguished from one another by their geographic distribution and (from our perspective) by their characteristic funerary practices and language. Stephen Mitchell has referred to the 'discrete cellular structure... implied by the letters of the apostolic and post-apostolic age'. This segmented ecclesiastical structure slotted perfectly into the existing 'cellular organization' of Phrygian society – small communities, with horizons extending not far beyond their immediate neighbours, and few common institutions which would have served to bind the region together as a whole.⁸ As Peter Thonemann notes in Chapter 1 above, this social reality is reflected in the huge stylistic variety of funerary monuments from region to region, not to mention the varied formulae used in the epitaphs themselves. The first Christian

³ *Bouleutai*: Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII, 423–5, 436–9; Trebilco 2002: 83–5.

⁴ *MAMA* I 170, with Wischmeyer 1990; Rapp 2005: 203–7.

⁵ Guarducci 1978: 304–15. ⁶ W. M. Calder, *MAMA* VII, p. xxxvi.

⁷ *koimētērion*: Drew-Bear 1978: 109–10; Rebillard 1993; Feissel, *BE* 1993, 771.

⁸ Mitchell 1993: II 41. Phrygian social segmentation: Thonemann, Chapter 1 above.

communities of Phrygia were similarly locally distinct, probably in doctrinal terms, and certainly in the diverse ways (more or less overt) in which they chose to express their Christianity.

The Christian monuments of Phrygia therefore fall into various distinct groups. The two earliest datable monuments derive from Kadoi in the upper Hermos valley, dated to AD 157/8 and AD 179/80 respectively.⁹ The reliefs of these two monuments show individuals holding a circular object incised with a cross (possibly a depiction of the eucharistic bread), and a bunch of grapes whose stalk in the later example ends with a *tau*-shaped cross.¹⁰ These two dated monuments form part of a small group of second- or third-century Christian epitaphs from the region of Kadoi, Synaos and Ankyra Sidera, many of them distinguished by the same 'cross-in-circle' or 'cross-in-wreath' motif.¹¹ A distinctive group of high-quality funerary doorstones from the region of Temenouthyrai, formerly attributed to prosperous members of a local Montanist community, have now more plausibly been interpreted as orthodox by Stephen Mitchell, who dates them to the late second and very early third century AD.¹² Two generations later, in the late third and early fourth century AD, we find a further Christian group in the territory of Appia in the Upper Tembris valley, identifiable by their funerary inscriptions which describe themselves as erected 'by Christians for Christians' (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς).¹³ Members of this prosperous peasant community were evidently prepared – unlike the earlier Christians of Kadoi and Temenouthyrai – to profess their faith openly in the funerary context. Finally, in southern Phrygia, a well-attested Christian community is known from various places throughout the course of the third century AD. By far the most prosperous of the groups mentioned here, their funerary epitaphs are characterized by a concluding curse-formula warning potential violators of the tomb that 'they will have to reckon with God' (ἔσται αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν), a phrase known to scholarship as the 'Eumeneian formula', after the most important town in the region and the apparent centre of this group.¹⁴

⁹ AD 157/8: SEG 41, 1073. AD 179/80: Calder 1955: 33–5, no. 2 (SEG 15, 795). On the Kadoi workshop, see further Lochman 1991.

¹⁰ On the interpretation of the cross-in-circle / cross-in-wreath motif of several early Christian monuments from this region, see further Mitchell, Chapter 8 above.

¹¹ B. Levick and S. Mitchell, *MAMA* X, pp. xxxvi–xli.

¹² See above, Chapter 8. Montanist epitaphs are, however, widely distributed across central Anatolia down to the fifth century AD: Tabbernee 1997 (to be used with caution); Hirschmann 2005; Mitchell 2005a.

¹³ Gibson 1978; Johnson 1994.

¹⁴ Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII, 399–413; Feissel 1980: 463–4; Trebilco 2002 (primarily Christian, but also used by Jews and pagans).

Crypto-Christianity: a short history

The concept of 'crypto-Christianity' must be analysed in this wider cultural context. To the best of my knowledge, the first to apply the term 'crypto-Christian' to the funerary inscriptions of Phrygia was Franz Cumont, in his fundamental 1895 article on the Christian epigraphy of Asia Minor.¹⁵ The passage is worth translating *in extenso*. Speaking about the difficulty of identifying early Christian inscriptions, he states:

Without doubt, in that enormous mass of second- and third-century epitaphs discovered in every part of the Roman world, there must be many which are owed to the ever more numerous disciples of the new doctrine; but even assuming that the faithful had felt the desire to renounce the ancient formulae inherited from their ancestors, simple prudence would have advised them to refrain: that would only have been to mark out their tombs for the violence of their persecutors. Nonetheless, although these inscriptions which we may call crypto-Christian are found in every province, they must have been especially numerous in Asia Minor, evangelized by the Apostles, and which may have been the only region of the Empire where the Church conducted mass conversions before the reign of Diocletian (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.11) . . . They preferred to resort to vaguer expressions, clear enough to initiates, but which could not put their enemies on the alert.

In subsequent decades, this notion was embraced by most specialists of early Christian Asia Minor. The idea of the 'crypto-Christian' epitaph probably owes its success to the prism through which the Christian epigraphy of Asia Minor was seen by its earliest students. Scholars of the early twentieth century – Ramsay, Calder, Grégoire, Cox – focused on the task of identifying monuments of Christian origin and attributing them to one or other of the different Christian groups attested in Anatolia in literary sources (Montanists, Novatians, Enkratites, etc). They were interested above all in distinguishing orthodox and 'heretical' texts; so in Phrygia, the greatest attention was paid to inscriptions which could be regarded as Montanist, and in particular to whether they corroborate what we know of Montanism from literary sources.¹⁶

As a result, Cumont's notion of 'crypto-Christian' inscriptions has often been employed precisely in this context of doctrinal distinction. So, for instance, Henri Grégoire, responding to Calder's essay on 'Philadelphia and Montanism', employs the notion of 'crypto-Christianity' in the context of the struggle between Montanism and orthodoxy. Endorsing Calder's interpretation of the 'Christians for Christians' inscriptions of the Upper

¹⁵ Cumont 1895: 249–50.

¹⁶ For this doctrinal/typological approach, see Tabbernee 1997.

Tembris valley as Montanist, Grégoire goes on to contrast them with the 'crypto-Christian' inscriptions of southern Phrygia:¹⁷

Some belong to the famous group of texts which conclude with the formula $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\kappa$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ ('He shall have to reckon with God'). These are the crypto-Christian inscriptions, those which do not make an open profession of Christianity. The inscription of Abercius, prudent as it is (albeit explicit enough from our perspective), belongs to the same series. The other category is distinguished, by contrast, by the open and almost brutal profession of Christianity . . . This crypto-Christian type of central and southern Phrygia contrasts strongly with the phanero-Christian type, reflecting an aggressive and provocative Christianity, of northern Phrygia.

Calder himself drew a similar distinction between monuments which do and do not make an 'open profession' of Christianity, writing, for example, of the verse epitaph of a possible martyr at Laodikeia Katakekaumene:¹⁸

Such obscurity of expression is familiar to students of the epigraphy of pre-Constantinian Christianity. During the centuries before Christianity became a legal religion, the Christians had perforce to avoid open profession of their religion on tombstones, and had recourse to a veiled language. This obscurity of expression was both necessary and deliberate.

However, Calder also challenged the validity of an overly rigid conception of 'crypto-Christian' documents, suggesting that they might instead have arisen out of a kind of religious tact and neighbourly good manners:¹⁹

It is important in this context to appreciate the exact sense of the not very happy term 'crypto-Christian' as applied to Christian epitaphs in surface cemeteries before the legalization of Christianity . . . The term 'crypto-Christian', when applied to third-century epitaphs, should be understood to mean not that the Christians concealed themselves under pagan formulae of inoffensive or neutral type, but that they themselves devised formulae of a type which offended neither their own conscience nor the prejudices of their pagan neighbours.

A still more nuanced approach is taken by Stephen Mitchell in his review of Elsa Gibson's 1978 study of the 'Christians for Christians' monuments of northern Phrygia:²⁰

In the absence of direct and reliable epigraphic evidence for conflict and persecution in the third century, we can surely presume a high degree of mutual tolerance between pagan and Christian . . . In this context the contrast between 'phanero-' and 'crypto-Christian' pronouncements loses much of its doctrinal significance.

¹⁷ Grégoire 1924: 703–4, on Calder 1923a. Grégoire later revised his position on the 'Christians for Christians' inscriptions: Grégoire 1951 [1964]: 16. See further Gibson 1978: 125–44; Strobel 1980: 104–12; Mitchell 1993: II 104–5.

¹⁸ Calder 1924: 360, on *MAMA* I 157. ¹⁹ Calder 1939: 25–6. ²⁰ Mitchell 1980: 204.

The "crypto-Christian" monuments . . . can be explained by a different tradition, that of the sophisticated verse epigram so common in the cities of the Greek East, whose delicate and often obscure allusions to the culture, occupations, and character of the deceased were designed to appeal to the subtle and refined taste of educated contemporaries. Christian examples of the genre are simply another part of the extensive common ground shared by pagan and Christian intellectuals of the third and fourth centuries.

On this interpretation, the 'cryptic' quality of 'crypto-Christian' monuments is no longer the product of fear of persecution, but turns out to be a mere stylistic convention. The suggestion here is that the function of linguistic ambiguity in certain early Christian funerary monuments may not have been 'concealment' at all; the whole notion of a 'cryptic' intent, in the sense of a deliberate attempt by the author of an inscription to deceive (some of) its readers, could be nothing more than a modern misunderstanding. After all, could a Christian really have concealed his religious identity from his neighbours and peers, in the small towns and villages of inner Anatolia where families' religious affiliation must have been known to everyone? And was it even *necessary* to hide one's Christianity in third-century Phrygia, where Christian communities were not in conflict but collaboration with their pagan and Jewish neighbours, where martyrs were few and far between, and the tolerance of the Roman authorities was the rule rather than the exception?²¹

Christian epitaphic formulae

It is time to look at a selection of Phrygian monuments, which will help to clarify this notion of a 'crypto-Christian' inscription (all too often used as a baggy hold-all for a wide variety of different kinds of texts). First, let us consider two inscriptions whose Christian character is not in doubt, for all that it is not expressed in an absolutely explicit manner.

1. Ramsay 1883: 399, no. 17; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 529, no. 374; *MAMA* IV 359; *I.Denizli* 145. Işıklı (ancient Eumeneia); now in the Pamukkale Museum. Probably second half of third century AD. Figure 9.1.

Αὐρ. Πρόκλα	<i>Aur(elia) Procula</i>
κατεσκεύασεν	<i>constructed</i>
τὸ ἑρῶον αὐτῇ καὶ	<i>the tomb for herself and</i>
τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς	<i>her husband and her</i>

²¹ Mitchell, Chapter 8 above.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 5 | τέκνοις Φιλίππῳ
καὶ Παυλίνῃ μνή-
[μη]ς χάριν· εἰ δέ
[τις] ἐπιχίρῃσει
[θεῖ]ναι ἕτερον, | <i>children Philippos
and Paulina, in
memoriam; and if
anyone tries
to inter another,</i> |
| 10 | [ἐ]σται αὐτῷ πρὸς
τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα. | <i>he shall have to reckon with
the living God.</i> |

Here, the Christianity of Aurelia Procula and her family is suggested by the concluding *devotio* formula, stating that the violator of the tomb ‘will have to reckon with the living God’. This is a variant on the ‘Eumeneian formula’ (discussed above), found throughout southern Phrygia in the late third and fourth centuries AD. This formula, although primarily used by members of the Christian community of the region, also featured in variant forms on Jewish and even pagan tombs; in this particular case, the addition of the epithet ‘living’ to the word ‘God’ makes the family’s Christianity highly likely.²²

2. Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 719, no. 654. Macil (near ancient Stektorion, in the Phrygian Pentapolis). Probably first half of fourth century AD.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 5 | Αὐρ. Διονοί-
σιος πρεσβ[ύ]-
τερος ζῶν κα-
τεσκεύασεν
τὸ κοιμητήρι-
ον. εἰρήνην πᾶσι
τοῖς ἀδελφο-
hed. hed. ἴς. | <i>Aur(elius) Dionysios,
presbyter,
while still living
constructed
the resting place.
Peace to all
the brothers.</i> |
|---|---|--|

In this example, several elements indicate Dionysios’ Christian faith. He describes himself as a *presbyteros*, literally ‘elder’, but here undoubtedly referring to his status as a member of the Christian clergy. The term *koimētērion* (‘resting place’, i.e. ‘until the Resurrection’) seems to have been used exclusively by Christians (save a couple of possible examples of Jewish borrowing).²³ The final salutation is characteristic of the Phrygian Pentapolis: several inscriptions from neighbouring villages conclude with phrases like ‘peace to the brotherhood (*adelphotēs*)’, ‘peace to passers-by’.²⁴ The

²² Although cf. Trebilco 2002: 80–1 (‘living God’ also in Septuagint and Pseudepigrapha).

²³ See above, n. 7.

²⁴ MAMA XI 139 (Emirhisar, AD 265/6: εἰρή[ν]η τοῖς παροδεῖταις); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 720, no. 655 (Macil: εἰρήνην πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελ[φότη]τι); Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 730, no. 658 (Sandıklı: εἰρήνη τοῖς παράγουσιν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ); see further below.



Figure 9.1. Funerary *bōmos* of Aurelia Procula and family. I.Denizli 145. Işıklı (Eumeneia), c. AD 250–300. Pamukkale Museum.

‘brothers’ of the salutation refers to other members of the local Christian community, Dionysios’ ‘spiritual brothers’.²⁵

Both of these documents are all but certain to be of Christian origin: in neither case is there any ambiguity, deliberate or otherwise, let alone any attempt to hide the author’s Christian faith. It is hard strictly to *prove* their Christianity (neither monument includes a cross or the word *Christianos*; the word *adelphos* has a perfectly ordinary non-Christian meaning), but the combination of distinctive formulae (‘reckon with God’) and distinctive terminology (‘*presbyteros*’) in practice renders it beyond doubt in both cases.

²⁵ On the term ὁδελφός, see Thonemann 2011b: 198.

The uses of ambiguity

Let us now turn to two inscriptions where the notion of ‘ambiguity’ may more legitimately be invoked.

3. Ramsay 1882: 518–20, no. 5; Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 720–2, no. 656 (*IGR* IV 694; Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 16/07/02). Karadirek (formerly Kılındiras, near ancient Brouzos, in the Phrygian Pentapolis). AD 216. Figure 9.2.

	[ἐ]κλεκτῆς πό-	<i>Citizen of a</i>
	[λ]εως ὁ πολεί-	<i>chosen city,</i>
	[της] τοῦτ' ἐποίη[σα]	<i>I constructed this (tomb)</i>
	[ζών, ἵ]ν' ἔχω φανερ[ῶς]	<i>while still living, in order that I might</i>
5	σώματος ἔνθα	<i>have here a splendid resting-place</i>
	θέσιν. οὖνομα	<i>for my body. My name</i>
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντω-	<i>is Alexandros, son of</i>
	νίου, μαθητῆς	<i>Antonius, disciple</i>
	ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ.	<i>of the holy shepherd.</i>
10	οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ	<i>However, no one is to</i>
	τις ἐμῷ ἑτερόν τι-	<i>inter anyone else in</i>
	να θήσῃ· εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥω-	<i>my tomb; if he does,</i>
	μαίων τα[μ]εῖω θήσῃ[ι]	<i>he shall pay 2,000 denarii</i>
	δισχεῖλια [χ]ρυσᾶ	<i>in gold to the Roman fisc</i>
15	καὶ [χ]ρηστῇ πατρίδ[ι]	<i>and 1,000 denarii in gold</i>
	ἱεροπόλει χεῖλια	<i>to my good homeland</i>
	χρυσᾶ. ἐγράφη ἔτει τ'	<i>of Hierapolis. Written in Year 300,</i>
	ἡδ. μηνὶ Ϛ', ζόντος.	<i>Month 6, while I was still living.</i>
	εἰρήνην παράγουσιν καὶ	<i>Peace to passers-by and</i>
20	μν[η]σκομένους περὶ ἡμῶν.	<i>to those who are mindful of us.</i>

This inscription has some shared elements with text 2 above, also from the Phrygian Pentapolis. We should note in particular the final clause, an expanded version of the formula in text 2 above, ‘Peace to passers-by and to those who are mindful of us (μνησκόμενοι περὶ ἡμῶν)’: the concluding phrase should be taken – most probably – as a gentle injunction to Christian readers to remember to pray for the souls of Alexandros and the other dead.²⁶

But the first part of Alexandros’ epitaph has a most unusual and original character. Lines 1–17 are a direct quotation from another epitaph from

²⁶ Cf. the common injunction to the readers of Christian epitaphs to ‘pray for me/us’: *TAM* V 2, 1302 (Hierokaisareia), εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; *MAMA* I 258 (Laodikeia); *MAMA* IX 557 (Aizanoi).



Figure 9.2. Funerary *bōmos* of Alexandros son of Antonius. IGR IV 694. Karadirek (Brouzos), AD 216. Drawing, Ramsay, Phrygia II 721.

a neighbouring town in the Phrygian Pentapolis, the famously allusive funerary epigram of the great Christian bishop Aberkios of Hierapolis, probably dating to the last decade of the second century AD:²⁷

²⁷ Wischmeyer 1980 (SEG 30, 1479); Thonemann 2012 (whose translation is quoted here).

Citizen of a chosen city, I constructed this (tomb) while still living, in order that I might have here a splendid resting-place for my body. My name is Aberkios, disciple of the holy shepherd, who pastures his flocks of sheep on the mountains and plains, and whose eyes are great and all-seeing. It was he who taught me trustworthy knowledge, and it was he who sent me to Rome, to see the queen of cities, and to see a queen with golden robes and golden shoes. And I saw there a people with a shining seal (σφραγεῖδαν); I saw, too, the plain of Syria and all its cities, even Nisibis, beyond the Euphrates. I found brothers (συνομαίμους) everywhere, with Paul beside me on my wagon. Everywhere Faith led the way; everywhere it nourished me with the fish from the spring, great and pure, caught by a holy maiden. Everywhere she gave the fish to her dear ones to eat, with good wine, handing it to us mixed with bread. I, Aberkios, stood by and dictated this, having reached my seventy-second year in all truth. Let all who understand (ὁ νοῶν) and approve these words pray for Aberkios. No one shall bury another in my grave; if he does, he shall pay 2,000 denarii in gold to the Roman fisc and 1,000 denarii in gold to my good homeland of Hierapolis.

With the exception of lines 7–8, where Alexandros has (unmetrically) inserted his own name in place of Aberkios, and the concluding date and injunction to passers-by (lines 17–20), Alexandros' epitaph of AD 216 is identical, word for word, to the first three and last three verses of Aberkios' funerary inscription of the 190s AD. What function can this quotation have served? Presumably – and here we are reduced to guesswork – the imitation served to indicate that Alexandros was a member of the *same* ecclesiastical community as that over which Aberkios had presided in the late second century AD; the quotation acts as a marker of Alexandros' specific ecclesiastical affiliation.

To be clear: there is no reason to consider either Aberkios' original epitaph, or its imitation by Alexandros, as 'crypto-Christian' in the sense of aiming to deceive any of their readers. But both are written, as the author of the late antique *Life of Aberkios* correctly claims, in such a way as to be 'comprehensible and useful to those worthy of Christ, but obscure to those without faith'.²⁸ A non-Christian reader, chancing upon either of these tombstones, would, I suspect, recognize their Christian character without any difficulty. But understanding the full significance of the language and content of the two epitaphs does demand some esoteric knowledge, likely to have been possessed only by members of the Christian community of the

²⁸ τοῖς μὲν ἀξίοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ νοούμενον καὶ ὠφέλιμον, τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις μὴ γινωσκόμενον: *Life of Aberkios* (ed. Nissen 1912) ch. 76; Thonemann 2012: 259–60. For this notion of privileged 'understanding' (τὸ νοεῖν), cf. line 19 of Aberkios' epigram: ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὕξειτο ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου, 'let him *who understands this* pray for Aberkios'.



Figure 9.3. Funerary *bōmos* of Eutropius. MAMA XI 145. Karasandıklı (Brouzos), c. AD 200–250.

Pentapolitan plain: in the case of Aberkios' epigram, the obscure allusions to Christian symbolic persons and objects (the 'holy shepherd', the 'fish from the spring'); in the case of Alexandros' epitaph, the allusion to a *different* epitaph, which probably served to identify him (to those 'in the know') as an adherent of one particular charismatic bishop.

4. MAMA XI 145. Karasandıklı (ancient Brouzos, in the Phrygian Pentapolis). Probably first half of third century AD. Figures 9.3 (front) and 9.4 (right).



Figure 9.4. Funerary *bōmos* of Eutropius, right-hand side, showing pine-cone top and scroll in relief.

Σῆμα τόδ' ἔτευξεν Εὐτροπίῳ
 Κύριλλα σύνευνος / *vac.*
 ὃς σοφίης μέτρον ἔσχε μέ-
vac. γὰρ τειμάς τε ἀρίστους /
 5 ὃν τέιμῃσε συνκλητικῶν

Kyrilla, his wife,
built this monument for Eutropius,
who had a great measure of wisdom,
and whom a senatorial family (?)
honoured with the highest honours

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| | <i>vac.</i> γένος <i>vac.</i> διὰ πίστιν / <i>vac.</i> | <i>because of his trustworthiness,</i> |
| | πολλά τε μοχθήσαντα ὁ- | <i>having laboured greatly during</i> |
| | δοιπορίαις καμάτοις τε / <i>vac.</i> | <i>his journeys and his toils.</i> |
| | ἔλθων δ' ἰς πατρίδα ἀνε- | <i>On his return to his homeland, he</i> |
| 10 | παύσατο βιότοιο τελευτῇ· / | <i>found rest at the end of his life,</i> |
| | εἶχε γὰρ καὶ θεὸν ἐπήκοον | <i>for he had a listening God</i> |
| | ὃν πεπόθηκει. / <i>hed. vac.</i> | <i>whom he yearned for.</i> |
| | εἰ δέ τις τῷ τύνβῳ τού- | <i>And if anyone lays a</i> |
| | τῷ κακοεργέα χεῖρα <i>vac.</i> | <i>harmful hand on this</i> |
| 15 | <i>vac.</i> πρόσσοισει, <i>vac.</i> | <i>tomb,</i> |
| | ὀρφανὰ λείψει τέκνα | <i>he shall leave his children orphans</i> |
| | <i>vac.</i> καὶ οἶκον ἐρήμον. <i>vac.</i> | <i>and his house deserted.</i> |
| | Κυρίλλαν τ' ἄλοχον μόνην | <i>Only Kyrilla his wife</i> |
| | <i>vac.</i> ἔνθα τεθῆναι· <i>vac.</i> | <i>shall be interred here;</i> |
| 20 | εἰ δ' ἕτερον τίς τινα | <i>and if anyone inters anyone else,</i> |
| | θήσει, δώσει ταμίῳ | <i>he shall pay to the treasury</i> |
| | <i>vac.</i> χρυσοῦς ἑκατόν. | <i>one hundred aurei.</i> |

This monument – recorded at the modern village of Karasandıklı in 1955 by Michael Ballance, now apparently lost – is one of a distinctive group of funerary ‘altars’ (*bōmoi*), with an upper part in the shape of a pine cone (see Fig. 9.4) and relief depictions of domestic objects on the panelled sides. The series is securely attributed to a workshop based at the nearby Phrygian city of Akmoneia, and can be dated to the first half of the third century AD.²⁹

The first twelve lines of the inscription form six (not terribly accurate) hexameters; the curse-formulae in lines 13–22 subsequently lapse into prose. Like many of the inhabitants of Phrygia and the western Anatolian plateau in the third and fourth centuries AD, Eutropius was concerned to parade his knowledge of classical culture, his ‘great measure of wisdom’ (σοφίης μέτρον μέγα):³⁰ the point is emphasized by the objects depicted in relief on the left and right hand panels of the *bōmos*, a papyrus roll (here Fig. 9.4) and stylus-case (on the left).³¹

In lines 4–6 of the inscription, Eutropius claims to have been honoured by the ‘race/family of senators’ (συνκλητικῶν γένος). The meaning of this is obscure, and no close parallels come to hand: this would be a strange way of describing the Roman senate proper, and a very misleading way of

²⁹ Robert, *Hellenica* X 247–56; for further examples, see *MAMA* XI 121, 123–4; *MAMA* XI 85 (Sebastē: *SEG* 28, 1084; Tabbernee 1997: 176–9, no. 23). The family which erected the last of these was Christian. On funerary ‘altars’, see Coulton 2005.

³⁰ For the phrase σοφίης μέτρον, see Theognis 875; Solon, F13.52 (West) (in neither instance in quite this sense).

³¹ See further Masségliā, Chapter 5 above.

characterizing the local city *boulē*. The phrase γένος συνκλητικόν is regularly used (usually in the genitive) in Greek funerary and honorific epigraphy of the second and third centuries AD to indicate that an individual is 'of senatorial descent' or 'of senatorial family'. The phrase here could well indicate that Eutropius was a dependent, presumably a freedman, of a great senatorial household. It is possible that his 'travels and toils' (lines 7–8) are a delicate allusion to a period of labour as a skilled member of a senatorial *familia*, at Rome or another of the great cities of the Empire, before his eventual manumission ('honoured with the highest honours') and a return to his native Phrygian village (line 9, ἔλθων δ' ἰς πατρίδα). This would fit very nicely with the fact that Eutropius was honoured for his 'trustworthiness' (πίστις, line 6): this quality is often attributed to loyal slaves and estate-managers in their funerary epigraphy.³² The fact of his marriage to Kyrilla is no impediment to this interpretation.³³

The passage in lines 9–12 is what mostly concerns us here: Eutropius 'found rest at the end of his life, for he had a listening God (θεὸς ἐπήκοος) whom he yearned for (δὲν πεπόθηκει)'. The notion of a 'listening God' seems not to have any direct parallels in Christian epigraphy. Rather, the expression is regularly used, in votive contexts, of a plethora of different Graeco-Roman deities who may have 'turned their ears' to the prayers of their worshippers: in Phrygia alone, the epithet ἐπήκοος is gratefully applied in votive monuments to Asklepios and Hygieia, Zeus, Artemis, Theos Hypsistos and several others.³⁴ At first sight, this would fit well with the curse formula in lines 13–17 of the inscription ('he will leave his children orphans and his house deserted'), which seems primarily to be used in pagan funerary contexts.³⁵

Nonetheless, the verb ποθεῖν ('long for') has the strongest Judaeo-Christian connotations, at least in its application to deities.³⁶ Its close connection here with the 'listening' god is of the first significance. In the

³² Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 36. In an unpublished funerary inscription, recorded by P. Thonemann in the Uşak museum, a certain Cl(audius) Aristion honours his slave (δοῦλον) Maryllos, 'who was faithful and loved his master', πίστον γενόμενον καὶ φιλοκύριον. In a different context, civic magistrates are often honoured for their trustworthiness: e.g. *I.Illion* 73, 9–10; Wilhelm 1911: 54–61 (Synnada, honours for Philonides, son of Herodoros) line 18.

³³ On slave marriages, see now Harper 2011: 261–73. The couple could have married after manumission.

³⁴ Versnel 1981: 26–37. Absence of Christian examples: Chaniotis 2008: 258.

³⁵ Strubbe 1997: 289–92. However, a comparable curse on the violator's children (ἀ<ω>[ρ]α τέκνα [ἐ]χῶσι) appears in an indisputably Christian inscription from the Phrygian Pentapolis: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 730, no. 658.

³⁶ For a close Christian parallel for its use here, compare Buckler, Calder and Cox 1928: 33–4, no. 250 (Çakırsaz, Upper Tembris valley), a funerary epigram for a Christian Eutychianos, 'who longed for God', ὃς ἐπὶ[θ]ησε Θεόν.

Septuagint, very similar language is used of the mortal heart's longing (ἐπιποθεῖν) for God, and God's willingness to 'listen' (ἐπακούειν) to the obedient worshipper. 'Let thy ears be attent (τὰ ὦτά σου ἐπήκοα) unto the prayer that is made in this place' (II Chron. 6:40). 'As the hart panteth (ἐπιποθεῖ) after the water brooks, so panteth (ἐπιποθεῖ) my soul after thee, O God' (Ps. 42:1); 'I waited patiently for the Lord; and he inclined unto me, and heard (εἰσήκουσεν) my cry' (Ps. 40:1); 'My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath (ἐπεπόθησεν) unto thy judgements' (Ps. 119:20); 'I have declared my ways, and thou heardest (ἐπήκουσας) me' (Ps. 119:26).

There is one further slight indication that Eutropius and Kyrilla might have been Christians, namely the curious phrase 'he found rest at the end of his life' (ἀναπαύσατο βίοτοιο τελευτήν, lines 9–10). Evidently the author wished to use the Homeric formula βίοτοιο τελευτή, 'the end of his life' (H. *Il.* 7.104; 16.787); here, it is combined ungrammatically with the verb ἀναπαύεσθαι, 'to take rest', a verb which seems to be used overwhelmingly in Christian contexts, referring to the notion of death as a period of sleep in anticipation of the resurrection.³⁷

The combination of the 'listening God' whom Eutropius 'yearned for' with this awkward use of the Christian notion 'to take rest' renders it very likely, though not certain, that Eutropius was a Christian. But the crucial point is that this ambiguity, far from being specific to Eutropius' profession of faith, *runs through his whole epitaph*. The section on Eutropius' career, honours and travels (lines 4–9) is, if anything, still more allusive and obscure than the reference to Eutropius' yearning for the 'listening God'. It may or may not be correct to interpret this passage as an account of service in and manumission from a great senatorial household; others may come up with a more plausible explanation. The point is that if we wish to categorize Eutropius as a 'crypto-Christian', we ought in good conscience also to classify him as a 'crypto-freedman'. There is no reason to think that either part of the epitaph was intended to deceive his readers, let alone that Eutropius was afraid of persecution or wished to keep his faith secret from his Pentapolitan neighbours.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the whole concept of 'crypto-Christian' funerary epigraphy is dependent on a particular vision of the earliest Christian centuries:

³⁷ βίοτοιο τελευτή; cf. e.g. (in funerary epigraphy) *SEG* 39, 1306; *I Klaudiu Polis* 71.17.

ἀναπαύεσθαι Christian: e.g. Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire 1910: 12 (Amisos); *TAM V* 2, 1159 (Thyateira); *IGLS* 3.1, 727 (Rhosos); *IGLS* 5, 2209 (Emesa).

a Christianity clearly divided between orthodox and heretic, marked by constant persecution, driven by the conflicting desires for self-preservation and martyrdom. Modern scholarship has largely turned away from this vision. Instead, we tend now to regard this picture of early Christianity as the self-interested construction of orthodox polemic, rather than as a reflection of historical reality.³⁸

The whole ‘typological’ approach to early Christian epitaphs – distinguishing categories of crypto- and phanero-Christian inscriptions, and assigning them to specific orthodox or heretical groups – is, I have suggested, intrinsically problematic. This approach assumes a kind of doctrinal intentionalism in funerary practice, as if the aim of any given funerary inscription were primarily to inform the reader of the doctrines adhered to by the owner of the grave. If only things were so straightforward.

Indeed, the entire notion of ‘crypto-Christian’ epigraphy, as I have suggested in this chapter, is a modern category-error. The idea of the ‘crypto-Christian’ epitaph arose from an attempt to explain the failure of early Christian tombstones to offer a declaration of faith as clear and unambiguous as certain literary texts would lead us to expect. Much early Christian epigraphy is undoubtedly obscure and allusive; but this allusive style is no more likely to reflect fear of persecution than the obscurities of Lykophron’s *Alexandra* or the Sibylline Oracles.

³⁸ Mitchell, Chapter 8 above. On the boundary between orthodox and ‘heretic’, Thonemann 2011b, with bibliography at 185, n. 1.

10 | Phrygian marble and stonemasonry as markers of regional distinctiveness in Late Antiquity

PHILIPP NIEWÖHNER

Roman Imperial period

The material culture of Roman Phrygia was, in many respects, more Roman than it was Phrygian. The formal repertoire of most stonemasonry from Roman Phrygia has no distinctive Phrygian features, and much of the archaeology of Roman Phrygia is characterized by an absence of anything recognizably ‘Phrygian’.¹ This was apparently a result of the unifying process of Romanization in the region. The city of Aizanoi in north-west Phrygia serves as a good example. The temples of Artemis and Zeus, the theatre and stadium, the baths and the gymnasium of Aizanoi are closely comparable in design and execution with their equivalents at Ankyra, Pergamon, Ephesos and Aphrodisias, to name only a few examples from other parts of the Asia Minor peninsula.² Building inscriptions at Aizanoi often refer to emperors, and show that the architecture of the city was not conceived on a provincial scale, but was developed in competition with other leading cities of the eastern Roman Empire.

The capitals of the temple of Artemis at Aizanoi were carved from Dokimeian marble, the chief material of high-quality stonemasonry in central Anatolia.³ The famous quarries at Dokimeion near Synnada in south-east Phrygia were owned and run by an Imperial bureau, as is apparent from numerous inscriptions that testify to the organization of the quarrying.⁴ Polychrome marble from the Dokimeian quarries was marked for export to Rome and the Mediterranean with a complex type of inscription, also in use at various Imperial quarries all over the Empire.⁵ Today commonly referred to as ‘Pavonazzetto’, this fine polychrome Dokimeian

¹ Thanks to Peter Thonemann for organizing the conference and its publication, and also for many helpful questions and a thorough revision of the text, and to Michael Featherstone for corrections and advice.

² Jes 2002: 49–62; Jes, Posamentir and Wörrle 2010; Naumann-Steckner 2010: 103–4; Rohn 2010: 127–9; Brize 2010; Rheidt 2010: 169–80.

³ Jes 2002: 52.

⁴ *TIB Phrygien* 237–8, s.v. Dokimeion; 393–5, s.v. Synnada. Organization: Ward-Perkins 1951; Fant 1989a; Drew-Bear 1994; Hirt 2010: 291–307, 318–23.

⁵ Fant 1993: 157–60.

marble seems mostly to have been used for column shafts and wall revetment.⁶

No official 'export' inscriptions of this kind appear on white Dokimeian marble. Dokimeian white marble was employed in numerous contexts in the high Roman Imperial period, most famously for luxurious sarcophagi, which were exported to regions throughout central Anatolia and the Mediterranean.⁷ A characteristic example, today housed in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul, was found at the Turkish village of Ambar, about 100 km south-east of Konya, identified with the ancient Sidamaria (Fig. 10.1).⁸

The Sidamaria sarcophagus is commonly dated to the middle or second half of the third century.⁹ The sarcophagus is decorated with acanthus foliage (Figs. 10.2 and 10.3) and can be compared to a column capital with windblown leaves, also from Sidamaria (Fig. 10.4).¹⁰ The type of marble and the 'fine-toothed' acanthus found on both artefacts are closely comparable, and the capital was surely also produced in Dokimeion.¹¹ Like the sarcophagus, the capital probably dates from the middle or the second half of the third century: a similar capital is known from a third-century repair of the theatre at Perge in Pamphylia.¹² Evidently the civic elites of Sidamaria were importing more than just sarcophagi from the Dokimeian quarries.

Another category of high-end products from white Dokimeian marble has been identified in the form of Corinthian pilaster capitals.¹³ Like 'Pavonazzetto' marble and the white marble sarcophagi, Corinthian pilaster capitals from Dokimeion are distributed equally across Anatolia and the Mediterranean. Some of the latest examples are preserved in the Antiquario Forense in Rome.¹⁴ Their fine-toothed acanthus leaves are similar to those on the Sidamaria sarcophagus, and these pilaster capitals may also date from the Late Roman period.

⁶ Pensabene 1994; Waelkens et al. 2002a. For Roman craters of Dokimeian 'Pavonazzetto', see Herrmann 2001: 337.

⁷ Waelkens 1982a (sarcophagi); Fant 1993: 160–2 (absence of inscriptions). For some qualifications concerning the sarcophagi, see Özgan 2003: 83, n. 192. For Roman sculpture of white Dokimeian marble, see Waelkens 1985 (at Rome); Fant 1989b: 112–13 (at Dokimeion). For two Roman craters of white Dokimeian marble, see Herrmann and Tykot 2009: 60–2.

⁸ *TIB Galatien* 126, s.v. Anbar. ⁹ Wiegartz 1965: 156–7.

¹⁰ Mert and Niewöhner 2010: 375–7, 396–7 (cat. 8, fig. 21).

¹¹ 'Fine-toothed' = German 'feingezahnt'; Peschlow 2004: 96–8, s.v. Der feingezahnte Akanthus.

¹² Öztürk 2009: 29, 136 (cat. 68, pl. 4, 5).

¹³ Kramer 1994; Waelkens et al. 2002b; Waelkens 2009: 356–7; Herrmann and Tykot 2009: 63–5.

¹⁴ Kramer 1994: pl. 11, 3 (cat. 10); pl. 11, 7 (cat. 41).



Figure 10.1. Columnar sarcophagus with relief of a door. Ambar/Sidamaria. Third century. Museum Istanbul.

Exceptionally, the so-called funerary ‘doorstones’ of the Roman Imperial period were not part of the standard Mediterranean *koine* and may therefore be characterized as distinctively Phrygian (discussed in more detail by Ute Kelp, Chapter 4 above). These gravestones are peculiar to central Anatolia, and rarely made their way to the Mediterranean littoral. Again, the best



Figure 10.2. As Fig. 10.1, detail.

examples were made of white Dokimeian marble, and some were apparently carved by the same workshop that produced the famous sarcophagi.¹⁵ A Dokimeian doorstone of outstanding quality, showing clear similarities of style and technique to contemporary Dokimeian sarcophagi, was found near Afyon, immediately to the south-west of Dokimeion.¹⁶ The doorstones can arguably be considered as simplified versions of the similar relief depictions of doors that formed part of many sarcophagi (cf. Fig. 10.1). Numerous simpler doorstones were produced by minor local workshops, such as

¹⁵ Waelkens 1986: 105–23; Lochman 2003: 109–34.

¹⁶ Waelkens 1986: 192, no. 472 (pl. 71).



Figure 10.3. As Fig. 10.1, detail.

the example illustrated here from Koçaş near Germia, far to the north of Dokimeion in western Galatia (Fig. 10.5).¹⁷

The Imperial administration of the quarries at Dokimeion was apparently flexible enough to allow for the same workshop to carve both sarcophagi and capitals for export, as well as doorstones for local outlet. As the differences between these various products were mainly of size and complexity, it is conceivable that the Dokimeian doorstones may have been carved by lesser workmen or even apprentices.

¹⁷ Unpublished. For Germia and its surroundings see most recently Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010. For other doorstone workshops, see Waelkens 1986: 19–20; Lochman 2003: 99–106. More generally on local Phrygian workshops, see Waelkens 1982b.



Figure 10.4. Column capital with windblown leaves and fine-toothed acanthus. Ambar/Sidamaria. Third century. Konya Museum.

Late Antiquity

In Late Antiquity, urbanism in Anatolia went into decline, and some of the centralizing and unifying effects of Romanization came to an end. Urban decline in Asia Minor came about in three phases. First, the monumental urban building projects of the High Empire came to an abrupt end during the so-called ‘third-century crisis’, for example at Aizanoi, where the stadium was apparently never finished.¹⁸ At Dokimeion, both the series of inscriptions associated with the export of polychrome ‘Pavonazzetto’ marble and the series of large luxurious white marble sarcophagi come to an end during the later third century.¹⁹

Secondly, the Christianization of the Empire was accompanied by an erosion of much of the existing Roman cityscape in the course of the fourth century. Temples, theatres, gymnasia and many bath complexes were

¹⁸ Rohn 2010: 125–6 (Aizanoi); cf. Ladstätter and Pülz 2007: 391–7 (Ephesos).

¹⁹ For the inscriptions see Ward-Perkins 1951; Fant 1989a; Drew-Bear 1994. For the sarcophagi see Waelkens 1982a: 128; Özgan 2000: 384–7; Özgan 2003: 42; Lochman 2003: 111, n. 19.



Figure 10.5. Gravestone in the shape of a door.
Roman Imperial period. Koçaş near Germia.

eventually given up, left to decay or pulled down.²⁰ At Aizanoi the stadium was quarried for other purposes from the middle of the fourth century onwards, and the neighbouring bath complex and gymnasium had gone

²⁰ Saradi 2006: 295–352.

out of use by this date.²¹ The temple of Artemis was dismantled and partly reused for the building of a colonnaded street.²² This colonnaded street at Aizanoi dates from around AD 400, when numerous porticoes of this kind, as well as aristocratic houses and city walls, were built or rebuilt in many cities all over Anatolia in a final, ultimately unsuccessful attempt at urban revival.²³

The third and final phase in the decline of ancient urbanism came about in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, when both the porticoes and the aristocratic houses were downgraded, subdivided and given up, whilst city walls were once again pulled down and/or rendered effectively undefendable by lean-to structures.²⁴ By the second half of the fifth century, the porticoes of the colonnaded street at Aizanoi had been subdivided and turned into workshops and a smithy.²⁵ By the sixth century, when the colonnade finally collapsed due to an earthquake, a thick layer of accumulated earth already covered the pavement.²⁶ The street had apparently been given up altogether by this time, and the earthquake debris was never subsequently cleared away, although it completely blocked the passage along the street.

Churches were the only major exception to the general urban decline of the fifth and sixth centuries. New churches were erected in great numbers; at Aizanoi, a former *macellum* and a former bath were both converted into churches during the period under consideration.²⁷ Churches were not a particularly urban feature, though, and indeed they were even more numerous in the Anatolian countryside.²⁸ The rural churches known from the territory of Aizanoi hugely outnumber the urban ones, and the inhabitants of the late antique countryside generally seem to have employed a great deal more marble and stonemasonry than their urban counterparts.²⁹

The extensive use of marble for rural churches was a new development of the fifth and sixth centuries; until the last urban building phase around AD 400, architectural sculpture had been employed almost exclusively for the monumental embellishment of the cities. The new ascendance of the

²¹ Rohn 2010: 126–7 (stadium); Rheidt 2003: 243; Naumann-Steckner 2010: 104 (gymnasium).

²² Rheidt 2003: 240–1; Rheidt 2010: 15–17.

²³ Rose 2011: 160 (Ilion); Niewöhner 2011b: 112–19 (bibliography).

²⁴ Rose 2011: 161–2; Niewöhner 2011b: 119–20.

²⁵ Rheidt 1995: 712. ²⁶ Rheidt 1995: 699–712.

²⁷ Krautheimer 1986: 160–6. Aizanoi: Naumann 1987: 311–40; Niewöhner 2007: 143–5 (bath); 145–58 (*macellum*).

²⁸ Foss 1994: 26–9; Mietke and Ristow 2004: 852; Belke 2005: 433; Varinlioğlu 2007; Kolb 2008; Eichner 2011: 25–6.

²⁹ Rheidt 2003: 245–7; Niewöhner 2006b: 246; Niewöhner 2007: 76–9.

countryside was enhanced by an increase in rural settlements and apparently also in rural population during this period. In the territory of Aizanoi the number of settlements doubled during the fifth and sixth centuries; many of the new sites were located in hilly and mountainous regions which had scarcely been settled during the Roman Imperial period.³⁰ A similar expansion onto marginal lands in conjunction with an enlargement of the pre-existing Roman settlements can be observed in various parts of Anatolia, and points to a general increase of rural population during the fifth and sixth centuries.³¹

The chronology suggests that the rural boom and the urban decline were linked. Interest and spending seem to have shifted from the monumental embellishment of the cities to the building of rural churches. Moreover, the new settlements on marginal lands could not have yielded a great agricultural surplus, and may only have become possible because a lesser percentage of their produce was now being siphoned off and consumed in the cities. This major structural shift in the relationship between city and countryside may have been brought about by changes in the administration of the Late Empire, depriving the towns and their councils of their former key positions.³² Administrative duties became burdensome, leading to 'the flight of the *curiales*', and resulting in a more direct administration of the Late Roman provinces by the state.³³ This worked to the disadvantage of the towns and their traditional elites, and was much lamented by the ancient literati, many of whom were from that social stratum; their laments have been echoed by modern classicists, with their traditional focus on the elite culture that declined together with the towns.³⁴

Other, less articulate parties may in fact have profited from this process. One beneficiary was the Late Roman state, which seems to have realized an ever-increasing income.³⁵ Another group that could well have benefited were the inhabitants of the countryside, who had previously fallen prey to the short-term interests of the cities and their *curiales*; the state was more concerned with the long term, and hence may, for example, have positively

³⁰ Niewöhner 2006b: 242–5; Niewöhner 2007: 80–1.

³¹ Cook 1973: 369–73; Dappner, Vermeulen and Wiedemann 1998: 132, fig. 10; Devreker and Vermeulen 1998: 257; Blanton 2000: 60; Baird 2004; Rose 2011: 164; Niewöhner 2011b: 109. However, De Staebler and Ratté 2011 observe a reduction in late antique settlement and population in the region of Aphrodisias in Caria.

³² Liebeschuetz 1959; A. H. M. Jones 1964: II 737–57; Liebeschuetz 1972: 257–8; Liebeschuetz 2001: 104–9; Laniado 2002: 1–129.

³³ Brandes and Haldon 2000; Brandes 2002.

³⁴ Liebeschuetz 1972; Liebeschuetz 2001: 30–54 (bibliography); Saradi 2006: 78–81.

³⁵ A. H. M. Jones 1964: I 462–9; Hopkins 1980.

encouraged the cultivation of marginal land.³⁶ The decline of the traditional urban elite seems also to have made room for newcomers, who typically now held positions in the Late Roman bureaucracy, and who reinvested their monetary earnings in the land.³⁷

Other positive factors that might have contributed to rural prosperity in this period include an improved climate, advances in technology and/or an increase in demand and higher prices for agricultural products due to the loss of the African provinces and their surplus grain.³⁸ However, these factors cannot explain urban decline, and therefore ought to be considered as secondary to changes in Late Roman administrative practices, that alone can account for both urban decline and rural prosperity.³⁹

Church building

The new Christian architecture and stonemasonry of the fifth and sixth centuries differed from one region to another, and shows distinct provincial traits.⁴⁰ For example, Church One at Binbirkilise in southern Lykaonia is built (like other churches at the site) with mullions instead of columns; it was barrel vaulted instead of gable roofed, and was later repaired with the addition of wide arches. All these features were peculiar to the western part of the central Anatolian plateau.⁴¹ An instructive comparison is provided by the pilgrimage church of the archangel Michael at Germia in Galatia.⁴² This church was originally built with brick arches, possibly by the Constantinopolitan aristocrat Studios, a benefactor of Germia who built a similar church with brick arches in the capital.⁴³ Later, the brick arches at Germia were replaced by the wide stone arches which seem to have been peculiar to the western part of the central Anatolian plateau. This secondary work, unlike the original construction of the church, was obviously a purely local undertaking.

The local Anatolian churches are generally considered inferior to contemporary Constantinopolitan building, and Richard Krautheimer's

³⁶ Grey 2007; cf. A. H. M. Jones 1964: II 812–23; Thonemann 2007: 439–40; Silver 2009.

³⁷ Liebeschuetz 2001: 110–20; Laniado 2002: 131–252; Liebeschuetz 2002; Banaji 2007.

³⁸ Hirschfeld 2004; Decker 2009.

³⁹ The follow-up question is of course, why these changes in administrative practices occurred in the first place. This has not yet been answered satisfactorily, but for some preliminary suggestions see Niewöhner 2011a: 170–1.

⁴⁰ Krautheimer 1986. Cf. also the entries on various provinces in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* and *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*.

⁴¹ Bell and Ramsay 1909: 41–50; Restle 1966: 697–701; Eyice 1971: 20–3 (figs. 9–23).

⁴² Mango 1986: 117–32; Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010. ⁴³ Mango 1984.

authoritative overview of *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* refers to central Anatolia as a ‘provincial backwater’.⁴⁴ As the political activities of the Anatolian cities became confined to the local level and the upper echelons of the old local aristocracy departed for Constantinople, so the quality of provincial architecture declined.⁴⁵ The emergence of diverse provincial styles can also be seen as part of the same process of ‘regionalization’. Local styles in church architecture normally seem to have followed the example of the respective provincial metropolis or some other regional focal point.⁴⁶ This presumably reflects the key position of the provinces and *metropoleis* in the administration of the Late Empire.⁴⁷ As ordinary provincial towns and their bishops now referred to the local metropolis and archbishop rather than directly to the capital and emperor, so also did the architects of their churches.

Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the design and layout of Phrygian churches in this period.⁴⁸ Most churches were probably built from mud brick and have disintegrated.⁴⁹ However, a large body of marble and stonemasonry survives from these lost churches, some of which is of the highest quality and contradicts Krautheimer’s description of central Anatolia as a ‘provincial backwater’.⁵⁰

Dokimeion in Late Antiquity

The leading Phrygian quarry at Dokimeion continued to function and maintained the highest quality of production throughout Late Antiquity. Indeed, as we shall see, the architectural sculpture produced at Dokimeion for use in the towns and villages of central Anatolia is virtually identical to contemporary stone carvings from Prokonnesos, the quarry island in the Sea of Marmara that was exploited for the decoration of Constantinople.⁵¹

A third quarry that also produced the same repertoire and quality has recently been identified at Sivec near Prilep in Macedonia Secunda (Salutaris), in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Sivec quarry

⁴⁴ Krautheimer 1986: 162, 166. ⁴⁵ Liebeschuetz 2001: 43–54, 104–24; Saradi 2006: 441–65.

⁴⁶ See above, n. 40. ⁴⁷ A. H. M. Jones 1964: 757–66; Liebeschuetz 2001: 137–55.

⁴⁸ Some extant churches may be found at Aizanoi (Niewöhner 2007: 143–7), Başaran (Alp 2010, where at least one of the two has a late antique predecessor), Dinar (Weber 1892: 34–7; Ballance 1995: 187–8; Ivantchik, Kienlin and Summerer 2010: 128–31), Hierapolis (Arthur 2006), Kızıl Saray (Haspels 1971: I 218–21), Laodikeia (Gelichi and Negrelli 2000: 130–2; Negrelli 2004; Şimşek 2012), and Sebaste (Firatlı 1969; Firatlı 1970). For rock-cut churches and chapels in the Phrygian Highlands, see Haspels 1971: I 245–54; Olcay Uçkan 2010.

⁴⁹ Cf. Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 305; Mitchell 1996: 203–5; Belke 2005: 426, 429.

⁵⁰ For the combination of mud bricks and architectural sculpture, cf. Strube 2003: 89.

⁵¹ Peschlow 2004: 68, 74.

supplied Stobi and other towns in that landlocked highland province with the same kind of marble goods that Prokonnesos provided for the Mediterranean and Dokimeion for central Anatolia.⁵² This may indicate a direct connection between all three quarries, because no other late antique workshop is known to have produced work in the same repertoire and of the same quality.

As Prokonnesos and Dokimeion were both administered by Imperial bureaus during the high Roman Imperial period (and probably also in Late Antiquity, although firm evidence is lacking), it seems conceivable that a related organization may have run Sivec as a Balkan branch. This could have been a late antique initiative, as there is no indication of Imperial involvement at Sivec during the Roman Imperial period. In fact, exploitation of the quarry at Sivec may have been discontinued during the so-called 'third-century crisis', perhaps explaining why foreign stonemasons from Anatolia were apparently called in when production was resumed during the building boom of the later fourth century. A similar transfer of skilled personnel also clearly happened at Constantinople. The grandiose Theodosian enlargement of the new capital employed Prokonnesian marble, but a formal repertoire and workmanship characteristic of fourth-century Dokimeion, suggesting that stonemasons from Dokimeion were transferred to Constantinople in this period.⁵³

Later, from the fifth century onwards, Constantinople became the centre of innovation, and Dokimeion followed suit. A straightforward example of this is provided by the late antique column capitals with fine-toothed acanthus produced both at Prokonnesos and Dokimeion. This type is traditionally referred to as 'Theodosian', although the earliest dated examples at the Studios basilica in Istanbul in fact date from around AD 454, just after the end of the Theodosian dynasty.⁵⁴ The Constantinopolitan capitals are made of Prokonnesian marble, but they are equalled in quality by contemporary Dokimeian capitals from sites in the western part of the Anatolian plateau, for example at Seyitgazi/Nakoleia (Fig. 10.6) and Germia, where the churches were patronized by the same Studios who built the basilica in Istanbul.⁵⁵

⁵² Niewöhner and Prochaska 2011.

⁵³ Niewöhner 2007: 119–34; Niewöhner 2010: 420–1; Niewöhner forthcoming.

⁵⁴ Peschlow 2004: 96–7.

⁵⁵ Nakoleia: Wulzinger 1913: fig. 21; Kautzsch 1936: cat. 419; Kramer 1973: 242 (cat. A2); Mango 1984: 46 (fig. 6); Parman 2002: pl. 121, 161a; Niewöhner 2007: 288 (pl. 55, cat. 451). Germia: Mango 1984.



Figure 10.6. ‘Theodosian’ column capital. Nakoleia (?) Fifth/sixth century. Seyitgazi, Battal Gazi Külliyesi.

The Dokimeian origin of the surviving capital at Germia has been confirmed by archaeometrical analysis of the marble, and the same may also be inferred for the capital at Nakoleia, as well as for other works of white marble from west-central Anatolia where the workmanship meets Constantinopolitan standards.⁵⁶ Dokimeion seems to have been the only late antique workshop in inner Anatolia capable of this level of quality. The Dokimeian material is fine-grained and has a distinctly different appearance from Prokonnesian marble, which has larger crystals and grey veins. The long overland route seems to have effectively discouraged the use of Prokonnesian marble in the towns of the Anatolian plateau.

From the opposite perspective, Dokimeian ‘Pavonazzetto’ marble and pilaster capitals continued to be exported to distant locations far beyond the western Anatolian plateau during Late Antiquity, as we shall see presently. The high cost of surface transport to the Mediterranean littoral meant that Dokimeian marble must have continued to be an expensive status symbol,

⁵⁶ Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010: 150–1 (figs. 20–1), Germia 7 (W. Prochaska).

as it had been in the high Roman Imperial period. Moreover, these same products also continued to be used in central Anatolia, a reflection of the high standard of building achieved there even deep into Late Antiquity.

Pavonazzetto

‘Pavonazzetto’ marble from Phrygia is characterized by its distinctive purplish veins, and is well known from Roman and late antique monuments throughout the Mediterranean. In Late Antiquity it was also employed in ecclesiastical contexts, for instance for the decoration of a church at Germia, situated on the outskirts of the pilgrimage site and surrounded by graves.⁵⁷ This building has a diameter of more than 25 metres, and may be reconstructed as a domed ambulatory church. The ground is strewn with glass tesserae, and the dome appears to have been clad in mosaic. Fragments of marble slabs indicate that the walls of the building were decorated with fine marble revetment. Some of the marble is coloured, including Dokimeian ‘Pavonazzetto’. The sophisticated plan and the sumptuous decoration of this provincial church thoroughly live up to Constantinopolitan architectural standards.

Pilaster capitals

Dokimeian products continued to make their way to Constantinople in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Late antique pilaster capitals of Dokimeian origin were found at a large rotunda in Constantinople that was later incorporated into the Myrelaion monastery (Fig. 10.7).⁵⁸ The rotunda may have been built around the year 400 as a palace for Arcadia, a daughter of Arcadius and sister of Theodosius II. The mullions and consoles as well as other structural elements of the church are made of Prokonnesian marble and decorated with ‘pointed’ acanthus. The pilaster capitals from the rotunda are also decorated with ‘pointed’ acanthus, and the quality of the stone carving is exceptionally high.⁵⁹ When these pilaster capitals were submitted to archaeometric analysis, the marble turned out to be from Dokimeion.⁶⁰ A pilaster capital that is almost identical to those from the Myrelaion rotunda is also to be found at Kütahya in Phrygia (Fig. 10.8).⁶¹ The dimensions

⁵⁷ Niewöhner 2012: 101. ⁵⁸ Naumann 1966: 208 (pl. 43, 1); Kramer 1994: cat. 50–2.

⁵⁹ ‘Pointed’ = German ‘gezackt’; Peschlow 2004: 93–6, s.v. Der großgezackte Akanthus; Der kleingezackte Akanthus.

⁶⁰ Niewöhner 2010: 441–7 (W. Prochaska). ⁶¹ Niewöhner 2006a: 455 (cat. 84, fig. 49).



Figure 10.7. Corinthian pilaster capital with fine-toothed and broad-pointed acanthus. Myrelaion. Late fourth century. Istanbul Museum.

closely match those from the Myrelaion rotunda, confirming the existence of a common workshop at Dokimeion.

Another, larger pilaster capital that has recently turned up in Istanbul is also of Dokimeian origin, as archaeometric analysis has shown (Fig. 10.9).⁶² The capital is decorated with fine-toothed acanthus of a more advanced style which can be dated broadly to the fifth and sixth centuries. It is roughly 1 metre wide, and figures among the largest pilaster capitals from Late Antiquity. Its precise origin is not known, since the capital was on sale illegally, and was confiscated together with two overhanging leaf tips of even larger dimensions. The leaf tips, which were apparently broken off from one or more very large column capitals, are made of Prokonnesian marble. It is probable that all three pieces, the Dokimeian pilaster capital and the Prokonnesian leaf tips, originate from the same monumental building, which (like the Myrelaion rotunda) was apparently constructed of Prokonnesian and faced with Dokimeian marble.

⁶² Niewöhner and Prochaska 2009: 453–8.



Figure 10.8. Corinthian pilaster capital with fine-toothed and soft-pointed acanthus. Late fourth century. Kütahya Museum.

Other similar examples are known of this kind of combination of different building materials with Dokimeian wall revetment, in the archaeological record as well as from written sources.⁶³ The continuing fashion for Dokimeian revetment would appear to have led to the wide dissemination of 'Pavonazzetto' marble and Dokimeian pilaster capitals, a fashion which began in the Roman Imperial period and persisted throughout Late Antiquity.

Like 'Pavonazzetto' marble, Dokimeian pilaster capitals, too, were common in central Anatolia, and one specimen at Kütahya has already been mentioned. Other examples from a bath-gymnasium at Ankara have 'narrow-pointed' acanthus leaves.⁶⁴ They belong to a revetment that was put up during a restoration of the bath complex which can be dated by coins and an inscription to the early fourth century.⁶⁵ A pilaster capital at Konya is similar to those at Ankara, but has only four points per lobe

⁶³ Kramer 1994: 67–72.

⁶⁴ Akok 1968: 10, 23, figs. 25–6; Niewöhner 2007: 120–2, figs. 5–6. 'Narrow-pointed' = German 'kleingezackt'; Peschlow 2004: 94–6, s.v. Der kleingezackte Akanthus.

⁶⁵ Foss 1977: 63, 64, n. 146 (inscription); cf. 87, appendix 2 (coins).

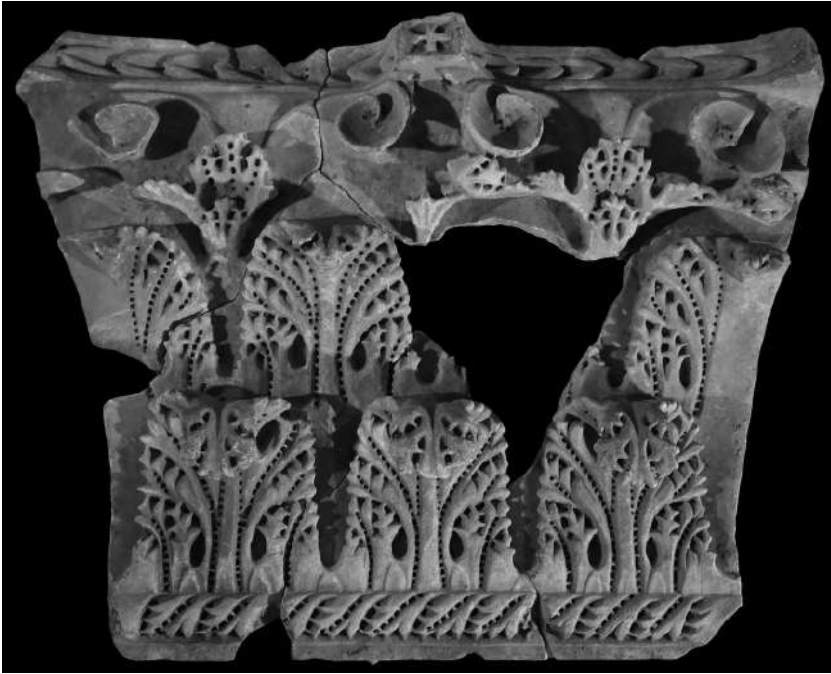


Figure 10.9. Corinthian pilaster capital with fine-toothed acanthus. Uncertain provenance. Fifth/sixth century. Istanbul Museum.

(Fig. 10.10).⁶⁶ Pilaster capitals with fine-toothed acanthus of the fifth and sixth centuries – that are probably also of Dokimeian origin – are well attested in the western part of central Anatolia, for example in the archaeological museum at Kütahya.⁶⁷

Architectural sculpture mainly used in central Anatolia

I now turn to those elements of late antique architectural sculpture from Dokimeion (other than pilaster capitals) which are found almost exclusively in central Anatolia. My first example is a late antique architrave in the Afyon archaeological museum (Fig. 10.11).⁶⁸ The fine-toothed acanthus of this architrave is of the same type as we saw on the third-century Dokimeian sarcophagus and capital from Sidamaria (cf. Figs. 10.1–4). Another block of the same architrave is decorated with ‘stiff-pointed’ acanthus, the back

⁶⁶ Mert and Niewöhner 2010: 402–3 (fig. 30, cat. 17).

⁶⁷ Niewöhner 2006a: 456–8 (figs. 50–3, cat. 85–6, 89).

⁶⁸ MAMA VI 385 (pl. 68); Niewöhner 2007: 291 (pl. 58, cat. 464).



Figure 10.10. Corinthian pilaster capital with narrow-pointed acanthus. Fourth century. Konya Museum.

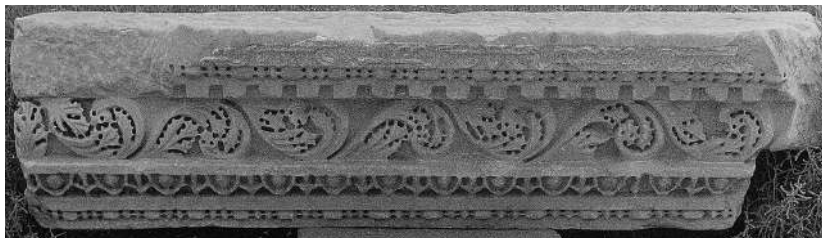


Figure 10.11. Architrave with frieze of fine-toothed acanthus. Fourth century. Afyon Museum.

side of which bears a Christian inscription (Fig. 10.12); the arrangement of text and decoration is clearly original, since the frieze to the right of the inscription leaves off before the writing begins.⁶⁹ The inscription has been dated to the fourth century AD, and the acanthus points to the first half of the century, not far in date from the third-century sarcophagus and capital from Sidamaria.

⁶⁹ Inscription: Ramsay, *Phrygia* II 740, no. 674; *MAMA* VI 385; Niewöhner 2007: 291–2 (pl. 58, cat. 465). ‘Stiff-pointed’ = German ‘starrzackig’; Peschlow 2004: 91–2, s.v. Der starrzackige Akanthus.



Figure 10.12. Architrave with stiff-pointed acanthus and inscription. Afyon Museum.



Figure 10.13. Frieze with fine-toothed acanthus. Bozhüyük. Fourth century. Istanbul Museum.

A frieze from Bozüyük in north-west Phrygia is carved in a rather different manner, with a lively accentuated surface, no traces of drill holes, and long curved teeth (Fig. 10.13).⁷⁰ This kind of leaf was in use during the fifth and sixth centuries, but is never again found as vivid, complex and deeply undercut as on the frieze from Bozüyük. The Bozüyük frieze ought therefore to be of earlier production, probably sometime around the middle of the fourth century.

As regards late antique capitals with fine-toothed acanthus, composite specimens of the so-called ‘Theodosian’ type have already been mentioned. An octagonal capital at Eskişehir is also related to this type (Fig. 10.14); it has the same kind of wide leaves with a double contour as are found on the ‘Theodosian’ capitals at the Studios basilica in Constantinople, but at Eskişehir the carving is unfinished. The final chisel work that would articulate the surface and bring the leaves to life has not been completed. The upper zone above the leaves is only roughly hewn, but would have been decorated with animal protomes. We may compare this with another fragment of a capital with two zones and bird protomes at the Kütahya museum.⁷¹ A capital at Uşak, in the far west of Phrygia, combines framed acanthus in the lower zones with butterfly leaves above.⁷²

⁷⁰ Niewöhner 2007: 292 (pl. 58, cat. 467).

⁷¹ Niewöhner 2006a: 454–5 (fig. 47, cat. 82).

⁷² Niewöhner 2007: 289 (pl. 56, cat. 454).



Figure 10.14. Octagonal capital with fine-toothed 'double leaves' and animal protomes, unfinished. Fifth/sixth century. Eskişehir Museum.

Other, still more advanced, carvings with fine-toothed acanthus also occur in parts of western inner Anatolia, for example a column capital from Alibey in the Upper Tembris valley that is similar to those at the outer gate of the Porta Aurea in Constantinople.⁷³ A specimen preserved at Eskişehir (Fig. 10.15) is of a type best known from the Justinianic church of San Vitale at Ravenna.⁷⁴ More popular both in Phrygia and at Constantinople was another sixth-century type of column capital with cornucopiae and ivy (Fig. 10.16).⁷⁵ Further column capitals in the museums at Eskişehir and Konya,

⁷³ Sodini 2000: 432, fig. 14; Niewöhner 2007: 289 (pl. 56, cat. 455). For those at the Porta Aurea see Peschlow 2004: 102, s.v. Das Vortorkapitell.

⁷⁴ Cf. Deichmann 1976: 96–9 (figs. 22–5, 78–80).

⁷⁵ Fig. 14: Museum Eskişehir, Inv. A.77.68, from Çifteler: Parman 2002: 185 (cat. E20, pl. 112, 145). Amorion: *MAMA* VII 294 (pl. 17); Parman 2002: 179 (cat. A50, pl. 102, 131 a–c). Museum Akşehir: Deichmann 1938: 209–11 (figs. 3–4). Yozgad Ören: *MAMA* I 433.



Figure 10.15. Column capital with framed monogram and fine-toothed acanthus. Sixth century. Eskişehir Museum.



Figure 10.16. Column capital with cornucopiae and ivy. Çifteler. Sixth century. Eskişehir Museum.



Figure 10.17. Pillar capital with narrow-pointed acanthus. Fifth/sixth century. Kütahya, Castle.

as well as a pillar capital at Kütahya (Fig. 10.17), are decorated with ‘narrow-pointed’ acanthus of the kind that is well known from Constantinopolitan monuments of the Theodosian age.⁷⁶ We may compare these ‘provincial’ capitals with the Dokimeian pilaster capitals from the Theodosian rotunda at the Myrelaion, discussed above (Fig. 10.7).

These examples suffice to demonstrate that architectural sculpture of the highest quality continued to be produced at late antique Dokimeion, and was widely disseminated in central Anatolia. The form and style of these sculptural elements are similar to works in Prokonnesian marble found at Constantinople, and provincial Anatolian stonemasonry stands up well in comparison with contemporary work produced for Constantinopolitan buildings. As regards architectural sculpture, Dokimeion seems to have been the Anatolian equivalent to her ‘metropolitan’ counterpart at Prokonnesos.

Liturgical furniture

In contrast to the architectural sculpture discussed above (where little distinction can be drawn between local and metropolitan styles), the liturgical furniture of central Anatolia is peculiar to the western part of the high plateau, and is markedly different from what was customary at Prokonnesos

⁷⁶ Eskişehir: Niewöhner, forthcoming. Konya: Mert and Niewöhner 2010: 404–5 (cat. 19, fig. 32).

and Constantinople. Again, the best pieces are carved from Dokimeian marble and are of superb quality. The workshop was clearly aware of what was going on at Prokonnesos and Constantinople and could easily have produced imitations, as it did in the case of architectural sculpture. But for some reason this did not happen, and the Dokimeion workshop clung to its own kind of liturgical furniture instead.

Templon screens

Four examples of posts which carried columns and formed the centrepieces of elaborately decorated screens are to be found in north-western Phrygia, one at Oluklu (near modern Bozüyük, 30 kilometres west of Dorylaion), two at Kütahya and one at Dodurga (on the upper Sarısu Çayı, south of Bozüyük). The post at Oluklu is badly mutilated, but a fine-toothed leaf is clearly recognizable at the bottom (Fig. 10.18); the top of the leaf is turned sideways in a way characteristic of relief decoration of the Roman Imperial period.⁷⁷ The two posts at Kütahya are decorated with the later type of fine-toothed acanthus (Figs. 10.19 and 10.20).⁷⁸ The complexity of the leaves, the depth of the reliefs and the elaborate compositions are without parallel in the fifth and sixth centuries and indicate an earlier date, possibly around the middle of the fourth century. The fourth post at Dodurga is also exceptional in design, but the acanthus consists only of simple leaves; the relief is shallow, and the general impression solid and heavy, as became common from the fifth century onwards (Fig. 10.21).⁷⁹

Posts of Dokimeian marble were an exceptional luxury and few have survived, but a type with paired columns does seem to have been relatively widespread. The specimen at Kütahya is virtually duplicated by another at Çukurhisar, north-west of Eskişehir-Dorylaion in northern Phrygia.⁸⁰ A local copy of this type is to be found at Eskişehir; this imitation is made of greyish marble, and its rear face is decorated with a soffit, as was common on posts of local workmanship.⁸¹

Posts and column shafts were most commonly carved locally from whatever marble happened to be available. An example at Ağar, a village on the territory of Aizanoi, consists of greyish blue marble.⁸² Capitals of local

⁷⁷ *TIB Phrygien* fig. 97 (Oluklu); Niewöhner 2007: 124 (fig. 8).

⁷⁸ Niewöhner 2006a: 458–60 (figs. 54–5, cat. 90–1).

⁷⁹ *TIB Phrygien* fig. 96 (Dodurga); Sodini 2000: 438, fig. 29; Niewöhner 2007: 127, fig. 9.

⁸⁰ Kütahya: Niewöhner 2006a: 459–60 (fig. 55, cat. 91). Çukurhisar: Niewöhner 2007: 293 (pl. 64, cat. 469bis).

⁸¹ Niewöhner. forthcoming. ⁸² Niewöhner 2007: 233, 236 (fig. 64, pl. 26, cat. 228).



Figure 10.18. Templon post with fine-toothed acanthus. Oluklu. Fourth century.

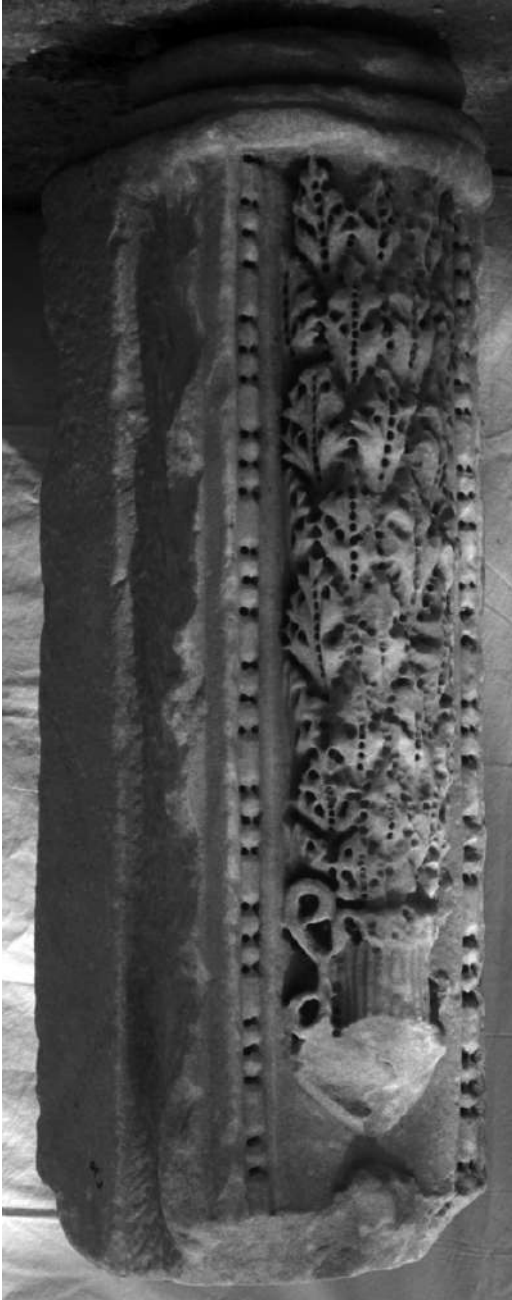


Figure 10.19. Templon post with fine-toothed acanthus candelabrum. Fourth century. Kütahya Museum.



Figure 10.20. Templon post with colonnettes and fine-toothed acanthus. Fourth century. Kütahya Museum, at the airbase.



Figure 10.21. Templon post with fine-toothed acanthus in the shape of a cross. Fifth/sixth century. Dodurga.

workmanship are less common, and these seem more often to have been bought or commissioned from Dokimeion instead. Examples are known at Konya, at Aizanoi and at Yalnızsaray, a village halfway between Aizanoi and Kütahya.⁸³ These small Dokimeian capitals seem to have been affordable even for rural churches, where they would have crowned locally made posts and columns. The light colour and superior workmanship of the Dokimeian capitals would have stood out and served as status symbols in rural Phrygia. By contrast, at Constantinople and elsewhere on the Mediterranean littoral, templon posts with columns were usually monolithic, including the capitals.⁸⁴

Champlevé

Some items of liturgical furniture of Dokimeian workmanship are outstanding for their champlevé decoration (that is, the insertion of coloured decoration into channelled troughs on the surface of the stone): for example, an arch that may have formed a ciborium above an altar (Fig. 10.22), and a slab that flanked the stairs leading to an ambo.⁸⁵ Both of these items were found in the countryside around Aizanoi, and would have been used in rural churches. They are decorated in relief, as well as with delicately carved floral motives and birds. This kind of champlevé was a speciality of Dokimeion, and was not customary elsewhere. It marks Dokimeian workmanship as clearly and unambiguously as any modern trademark.

Ambos

Another slab from the stairs of an ambo is preserved in the Kütahya museum (Fig. 10.23).⁸⁶ Again, it is decorated both in relief and with the type of champlevé decoration peculiar to Dokimeion. Moreover, the upper part of the ambo (now broken off) originally featured openwork decoration. Ambos with openwork of this kind are rare in central Anatolia; apparently all the surviving examples are of Dokimeian origin, though their influence

⁸³ Konya: Mert and Niewöhner 2010: 397, 406–7 (figs. 22, 35–6, cat. 9, 22–3). Aizanoi: Niewöhner 2007: 270–2, 274 (fig. 134, pl. 42, cat. 360, 362, 366–7). Yalnızsaray: Niewöhner 2007: 271 (pl. 42, cat. 365).

⁸⁴ Peschlow 1992: 1469, n. 77; Sodini 2002: 587–9 (figs. 9–10); Equini Schneider 2003: 233–4 (cat. AP 127) and 635, n. 198.

⁸⁵ Niewöhner 2007: 270 (pl. 41, cat. 359: ciborium); 276 (pl. 45, cat. 381: ambo).

⁸⁶ Niewöhner 2006a: 464–5 (figs. 62–3, cat. 102).



Figure 10.22. Ciborium with champlévé decoration. Doğancılar. Fifth/sixth century.

can be detected in most other Early Byzantine ambos of local workmanship, as the following observations will show.⁸⁷

Openwork decoration reflects a practical purpose. The lower, closed part of a typical Dokimeian ambo slab hid the stairs of the ambo, whilst the openwork above served as a banister (Fig. 10.24). Form followed function; the lower, closed part of an ambo slab is triangular and reflects the gradient of the stairs; the openwork above forms a parallelogram corresponding to the height of the banister. This same partition into a triangle below and a parallelogram above was adhered to almost universally in late antique central Anatolia, even when the openwork was absent, as we can see for example in

⁸⁷ Niewöhner 2007: 129.



Figure 10.23. Lateral ambo slab with champlevé decoration and openwork. Fifth/sixth century. Kütahya Museum.

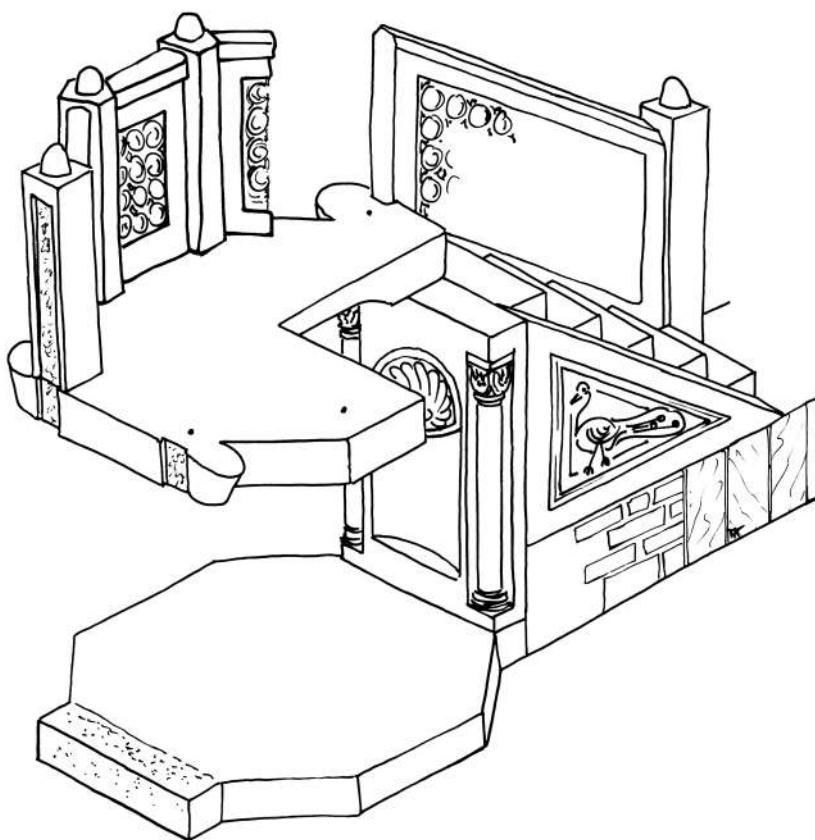


Figure 10.24. Reconstruction of a Phrygian ambo. Drawing A. Thiel.

two rather simpler ambo slabs from Kütahya and Ilicikören near Aizanoi.⁸⁸ In the case of these and all other examples without openwork there is no functional reason for reproducing this particular triangle–parallelogram layout. A square below and a triangle above (or no partition at all) would have been more convenient, as numerous ambo slabs from the Middle Byzantine period all over Anatolia show.⁸⁹ The late-antique ‘standard’ was obviously derived from the layout of the Dokimeian openwork ambo slabs. In this respect, too, Dokimeion seems to stand at the beginning of this particular decorative tradition, and to have exerted a decisive influence on the late antique stonemasonry of central Anatolia.

Two further special features can be seen to characterize dozens of locally made ambos throughout central Anatolia, but hardly ever turn up outside the region; these features, too, appear to have their origins in some regional ‘Phrygian’ source. The first feature is an oblong slab with a central niche and flanking quarter columns (Fig. 10.25). It served a double purpose: firstly, to cover the back of the stairs, and secondly to carry the platform of the ambo (Fig. 10.24).⁹⁰ One specimen at Saraycık in north-western Phrygia has an exceptional decoration with fine-toothed acanthus, and may well be of Dokimeian origin.⁹¹ Other slabs are simpler and of local workmanship, for example at Kütahya (Fig. 10.25), Sivrihisar and Eskişehir.⁹² However, ambos outside inner Anatolia seem not to have included a rear slab of this kind at all. Another special feature of central Anatolian ambos is the bulging protrusions at each of the four corners of the platform, containing grooves for the insertion of the slabs flanking the stairs on both sides (Fig. 10.24).⁹³ Good examples are found at Hacibekir in the territory of Aizanoi (Fig. 10.26) and at Seyitgazi.⁹⁴ In both cases, we seem to be dealing with regional imitation of a local model, the influence of which was strong enough to unite the various local workshops of inner Anatolia, though it did not extend beyond the region. Dokimeion is again the obvious suspect.

Summary and conclusion

‘Pavonazzetto’ marble and Dokimeian pilaster capitals were frequently exported to Constantinople and elsewhere in the Mediterranean throughout

⁸⁸ Kütahya: Niewöhner 2006a: 451 (fig. 40, cat. 73). Ilicikören: Niewöhner 2007: 253 (fig. 109, pl. 31, cat. 307).

⁸⁹ Peschlow 1994; Sodini 1994; Dennert 1995. ⁹⁰ Niewöhner 2007: 108 (fig. 2), 113–14.

⁹¹ Niewöhner 2007: 294 (pl. 61, cat. 478). ⁹² Niewöhner, forthcoming.

⁹³ Niewöhner 2007: 108 (fig. 2), 114.

⁹⁴ Hacibekir: Niewöhner 2007: 254–6 (fig. 114, pl. 32, cat. 316). Seyitgazi: Kramer 1973: 241; Parman 2002: 142–3 (cat. S6, pl. 66, 81a–b); Niewöhner 2007: 283 (pl. 49, cat. 417).



Figure 10.25. Ambo slab with central niche and flanking quarter columns. Fifth/sixth century. Kütahya Museum.

Late Antiquity. They testify to the continued high prestige of Phrygian marble and stonemasonry. These products were also used in central Anatolia, where provincial stonemasonry met the same standards as in Constantinople itself. The same level of quality was achieved in the production of architectural sculpture other than pilaster capitals, much of which was not exported to the Mediterranean but was apparently produced for regional markets on the western fringe of the Anatolian plateau. The workmanship and repertoire of this local architectural sculpture was equal to that of



Figure 10.26. Ambo platform with bulging protrusions and grooves at all four corners. Hacikebir. Fifth/sixth century.

Prokonnesos and Constantinople; indeed, Dokimeion seems to have functioned as a 'regional' supplier of the same kind of building material as was used in the capital.

In contrast, liturgical furniture from Dokimeion is markedly different from what was customary at Prokonnesos and Constantinople. These differences would not have affected the liturgical use of the furniture, but were purely formal. As the craftsmen of the Dokimeian workshop were clearly well versed in the formal repertoire of the capital, their preference for other, local forms must have been conscious, and may be indicative of a conscious attempt to project a provincial identity. Various minor local workshops of central Anatolia observed the same peculiarities as the Dokimeian craftsmen, and any traveller must have perceived these typological mannerisms as markers of regional distinctiveness. In this respect the liturgical furniture of late antique Phrygia may be compared with the similarly distinctive Roman-period doorstones.

However, unlike the doorstones, the liturgical furniture produced for local use cannot simply be described as smaller and simplified versions of items being produced for export. The liturgical furniture formed a wholly different line of production, and the quality and size of, for example, a

Dokimeian openwork ambo slab more than equalled any of the pilaster capitals produced at the Dokimeion workshop for export in Late Antiquity. Indeed, pilaster capitals were effectively the only kind of architectural sculpture being exported from Dokimeion after the third century. Most of the products of the Dokimeion workshop in Late Antiquity were intended for local outlet across the western part of the central Anatolian plateau. The focus on the export of 'luxury' marble products to Rome and the wider Mediterranean that had characterized the Imperial exploitation of the quarries in the second and third centuries was replaced by a more regional orientation in Late Antiquity.

11 | The history of an idea: tracing the origins of the MAMA project*

CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

A striking characteristic of British and American archaeological exploration, until at least the middle of the twentieth century, was the dominant role of individual initiatives and private funding; this contrasts with the more structured activities of the Austrians, the French or the Germans, whose activities tended to be far more coordinated.¹ It is entirely typical that important discoveries were made at Ephesos by British archaeological explorers – Wood and Falkener – but consistently funded excavation was only undertaken by the Austrian Academy.

One consequence of this is that the materials from such activities tend to be widely and rather randomly scattered, often given or bequeathed to whoever appeared to their owner to be suitable. This continues to complicate the story of Anglo-American epigraphy in Asia Minor, which is the story of MAMA; more remains to be discovered. But the tradition definitely begins with a remarkable individual whose personal decisions had a huge influence, William Mitchell Ramsay (Fig. 11.1). Ramsay was very famous in his day; and he is still renowned. Yet there has been no major study on him;² and the bulk of the information about his career comes from his own accounts of himself, which gives them a rather particular flavour.³

William Ramsay was born in Glasgow, where his father was a lawyer, but his mother's family came from Alloa, where they ran the Alloa Coal

* The material assembled here was largely collected during a stay in Aberdeen, as Geddes-Harrower Visiting Professor, in October 2010; my work was made possible by the generous hospitality of the University of Aberdeen, and by the unflagging support of the University Library staff, particularly in Special Collections. References to ASC are to Aberdeen Special Collections numbers.

¹ The difference of approach was widely recognized. In 1912 Salomon Reinach, reviewing Olmstead's publication of Hittite inscriptions wrote: 'Pourquoi les membres de l'Expédition tardent-ils tant à en faire connaître les résultats? C'est parce-qu'ils sont professeurs dans les Universités américaines, condamnés à un travail écrasant de lectures qu'on n'impose aux savants ni en Allemagne ni en France. La science américaine souffre de cet état de choses, qui n'est pas digne du plus riche pays du monde.' *Revue Archéologique* 4/19 (1912), 172.

² The short study by Gasque 1966 has a useful introduction by Ramsay's pupil, the biblical scholar F. F. Bruce. The article in the *ODNB* is by J. G. C. Anderson, revised by P. Lock: Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (1851–1939): doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/35664. There are useful descriptions of Ramsay's early years in Asia Minor in Gill 2011.

³ Particularly in Ramsay 1915: 7–35, 'Introductory Statement'.

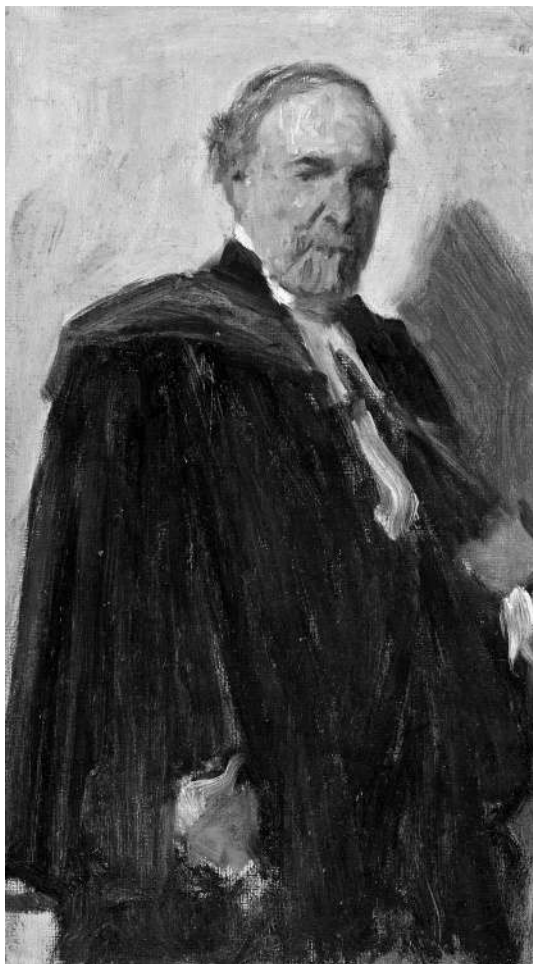


Figure 11.1. Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (1851–1939), portrait by Sir George Reid.

Company. In 1857 his father died, and Mrs Ramsay returned with her children to Alloa, where William started school. Her brother, Andrew Mitchell, took care of William's education, sending him to Aberdeen College and, in 1867, as a Fullerton Scholar, to the University of Aberdeen. He was active and involved, and apparently an excellent sportsman; by the end of 1868 it was clear that he was also an outstanding scholar. He writes at length of the occasion when he realized that he could excel at academic work, being declared top in all examinations, and presents this as a turning point.⁴ From

⁴ Ramsay 1915: 10.

then on, although his family had been preparing him for the Indian Civil Service, he sought an academic career. In 1872, a year after he graduated from Aberdeen, he won a five-year scholarship to St John's College, Oxford.

His interests were wide ranging: in 1874 he went to spend the summer studying with Theodor Benfey, an expert on Sanskrit at the University of Göttingen. Later he wrote:

In my undergraduate days, a residence in Göttingen during the Long Vacation of 1874 was a critical point in my life. Then for the first time, under the tuition of Professor Theodor Benfey, I came into close relations with a great scholar of the modern type, and gained some insight into modern methods of literary investigation; and my thoughts have ever since turned towards the borderlands between European and Asiatic civilisation.⁵

Ramsay decided not to continue with Sanskrit, advised that there were no career possibilities; but he did retain a concept of 'the East' very much of his time:

The collision of East and West throughout history has been a subject of special interest to the present writer from early youth; and he has watched for more than twenty-five years the recent revival of the Asiatic spirit, often from a very close point of view. In 1897, in a book entitled *Impressions of Turkey*, he tried to analyse and describe, as he had seen it, 'the great historic movement' through which 'Mohammedanism and Orientalism have gathered fresh strength to defy the feeling of Europe'. It is now becoming plain to all that the relation of Asia to Europe is in process of being profoundly changed; and very soon this will be a matter of general discussion. The long-unquestioned domination of European over Asiatic is now being put to the test, and is probably coming to an end. What is to be the issue?⁶

In 1876 Ramsay was taking his final examinations, which included a requirement to pass in Divinity: for this he made a close study of Paul's epistle to the Galatians – which was to be an abiding interest. He graduated with a First. In 1877 he was ordered abroad by a doctor (no details are given): at this point it was another uncle, Mr Drake, who provided him with a hundred pounds a year to live on, and he travelled in Europe in 1877 and 1878. He spent five months in Rome as 'private tutor in Classics and Mathematics to the family of the English Ambassador'.⁷ On his return he married,⁸ and took a post as Assistant to the Professor of Greek at Aberdeen; he supplemented his income by writing articles for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which must have helped develop his great fluency in writing. In 1879, Oxford advertised

⁵ Ramsay 1895: vi: a dedicatory note to his uncle, Andrew Mitchell, thanking him for enabling his stay in Göttingen.

⁶ Ramsay 1904: Preface. ⁷ Various 1882: 4. ⁸ Agnes Dick Marshall, daughter of a minister.

a three-year studentship, given by Mr Mountague Bernard,⁹ for ‘Travel and Research in the Greek lands’, for which the two candidates were Ramsay and Oscar Wilde; in early 1880 Ramsay learned that he had been successful, and consulted Charles Newton on what he should do. He writes: ‘We dreamed now of Athens; but Newton said “Don’t go to Athens, which is pre-occupied by the Germans and the French; go to the west coast of Asia Minor, where the great Greek cities offer a better field to a new man.”’¹⁰

Accordingly in May 1880 after a few weeks in Greece, Ramsay and his wife sailed for Smyrna, where they met Major (soon to be Sir) Charles Wilson. Wilson was a military engineer and mapping expert. After working on the delimitation of the boundary between Canada and the United States, he had worked in Palestine, in 1864–5, conducting a survey of Jerusalem and the surrounding country as part of a scheme to establish a decent water supply. This survey indicated how historically and archaeologically informative such work could be and led to the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund, with substantial funding from Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts. Wilson was its first director and undertook the preliminary work, surveying the antiquities of the area, in 1865–6. Although he returned to his government work in June 1866, Wilson continued an active supporter of the PEF; in 1901 he was to become its chairman.

In February 1879, in the aftermath of the Treaty of Berlin, Wilson was appointed British military consul-general in Anatolia: this was a post created as part of Disraeli’s policy to strengthen the administration and efficiency of the Ottoman Empire. He established headquarters at Sivas and divided Anatolia into four consulates, each with a military vice-consul. He reported to the Foreign Office through the British ambassador at Constantinople.¹¹

In May 1880 Wilson travelled to Smyrna, to see his wife off to England for the summer, and met the Ramsays, as they arrived. According to Ramsay, it was Wilson who encouraged him to go beyond the relatively well-studied coast of Anatolia into the interior. Ramsay later wrote:

Sir Charles Wilson, hearing of Newton’s advice, said ‘Come into the inner country of Anatolia. The coast-lands are open to explorers; any one can go there, but the inner country is unknown. People think that it is difficult to travel in the centre of Turkey, but it is not really so. Come and make a journey with me; and you will soon learn how to travel.’ The presence of Sir Charles Wilson in Smyrna for one day to

⁹ On Bernard see M. Lobban in the *ODNB*: Mountague Bernard (1820–1882): doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/2247.

¹⁰ Ramsay 1915: 25.

¹¹ See *ODNB*, Sir Charles William Wilson (1836–1905): doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/36951.

see Lady Wilson off by the steamer to Europe, was the cause that directed us to the upper country.¹²

The Ramsays settled in the European quarter of Smyrna, where their daughter Agnes Margaret was born in March 1881.¹³ Wilson and Ramsay went on two major expeditions together, in spring and autumn 1881, before Wilson was moved to Egypt in 1882. It gave Ramsay a unique introduction, before he started travelling on his own. By 1883 he was travelling with another very ascetic scholar, John Sitlington Sterrett, who, based at the American School of Archaeology in Athens was also undertaking exploration in Asia Minor. Both men were concerned to establish the ancient geography of the area; Sterrett was to edit Strabo's Geography. He too was constantly in search of funding. 'We learned what were the indispensable accompaniments of life, and how much we could do without.'¹⁴ David Hogarth, who travelled with Ramsay in 1887, mentions how extremely Spartan the conditions were:

Throughout that journey we had little except sodden messes to eat, faring worse than any traveller need fare. It was partly because our leader cared little for what he ate, but more because, like his followers, he journeyed on a slender purse. Ramsay had made to himself a European reputation as an explorer of Asia Minor at a cost which another man would think scarcely sufficient for the tour of Germany . . . it is not the least of my many debts to Ramsay that I gained in my first tour of exploration the will and the capacity to go farther at less cost than perhaps anyone but my master.¹⁵

Short-term funding may be one of the explanations of Ramsay's rather slapdash style. He accumulated inscriptions at great speed, and published them equally swiftly.¹⁶ It is also clear that he loved the excitement and drama of the hunt; this is very clearly illustrated in Agnes Ramsay's account of the story of the Abercius inscription – carried off in a saddle-bag by Ramsay.¹⁷

Ramsay poured out articles full of new discoveries, and in 1881 Exeter College offered him a five-year research fellowship 'the conditions being two years' exploration followed by three years' study and publication at home'. Ramsay was elected a Fellow of Exeter College Oxford on 30 June 1882,

¹² Ramsay 1915: 26.

¹³ An interesting impression of their life in Smyrna can be obtained from Lady Ramsay's two books, A. M. Ramsay 1897 and particularly her rather dramatic novel, A. M. Ramsay 1899, 'Dedicated to all true lovers'.

¹⁴ Ramsay 1915: 27. ¹⁵ Hogarth 1910: 6.

¹⁶ The Sackler Library at Oxford holds thirty-nine of Ramsay's notebooks, entrusted by him to W. H. Buckler, who gave them to St John's College. For a list see *I. Antioche de Pisidie*. Some more notes, and some photographs, are in Aberdeen: ASC MS 3286/7/3.

¹⁷ A. M. Ramsay 1897: chapter 5.

and in the same year the Asia Minor Fund was set up, as an initiative of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, clearly modelled on the Palestine Exploration Fund. George Macmillan was Honorary Treasurer, and made constant appeals:

It would be little to the credit of England if want of funds should oblige Professor Ramsay to leave the completion of his task to foreign hands. (1890)

One might wish that a foreign nation had not stepped in to a field which, with more liberality on the part of Englishmen, could have been covered completely by our own explorers, but the work is so vast that in the interests of knowledge the application of foreign zeal and money is not altogether to be regretted. (1891)

Very much yet remains to be done, and if the work so well begun by a small band of Englishmen is not to be left unfinished or transferred to foreign hands, English liberality must supply the funds necessary for its continuance. (1893)¹⁸

Teaching posts in archaeology were still very rare, but in 1884 the University of Oxford decided that ‘there shall be a Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art, who shall lecture and give instruction on the arts and manufactures, monuments, coins and inscriptions of classical antiquity, and on Asiatic and Egyptian antiquities, or on some of those subjects,’ establishing the Lincoln and Merton chair.¹⁹ Ramsay was elected to be the first holder in 1885, but he only stayed in the post for one year, when he applied for the Regius Chair of Humanity at Aberdeen. The move made very good sense. He himself explains that the attraction was ‘a position where the long summer vacation from April to October promised the free time needed for travel’;²⁰ but it is also the case that, when first established, the Oxford chair had no salary attached to it.²¹ Ramsay remained at Aberdeen until he retired at 60, in 1911.

He continued to travel regularly to Asia Minor, and to publish a flood of articles. In 1890 he published, with the Royal Geographical Society, his first major monograph, the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*.²² But in 1891 he contracted cholera, which was sufficiently severe to stop him from travelling for several years; his next trip was in 1899, and he only resumed his regular travels in 1901. This period of enforced stability must have been deeply frustrating for a man who had given up an Oxford chair in order to be able to travel; it is noticeable that from this time onwards there is more

¹⁸ Citations from Gill 2008.

¹⁹ On the post see Boardman 1985 (I am grateful to Peter Thonemann for this reference).

²⁰ Ramsay 1915: 28. ²¹ Boardman 1985: 44–5.

²² The work had been delayed when in 1888 he left the manuscript on a train, and had to rewrite it: Ramsay 1890: 3.

and more evidence of a fierce temper, which – later in his life – led him to write some unpardonably savage comments on other people, both in letters and in print.²³ But this was also a turning point in Ramsay's career, in more than one way.

Firstly, it determined the direction of his scholarship. He worked on another great geographical study *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, published in two volumes in 1895 and 1897, which was intended to be continued and completed. But in 1892 he was invited by Mansfield College, Oxford to give a series of lectures, which he then published as *The Church in the Roman Empire before AD 170* (1893). This was the beginning of an approach which was to define the rest of his career, and his fame. He had used the Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul as an essential adjunct in understanding the topography of Roman Asia Minor. Now he found that his knowledge of Asia Minor could be of enormous interest to those reading the New Testament documents. He saw that a great deal of what was to be found in the Acts could be related to what was to be found on the ground. He came increasingly to respect the writer of Acts as a reliable source, and so to extend this approach to his other work, the Gospel according to St Luke.

There is a certain presumption that a writer who proves to be exact and correct in one point will show the same qualities in other matters. No writer is correct by mere chance, or accurate sporadically. He is accurate by virtue of a certain habit of mind. Some men are accurate by nature; some are by nature loose and inaccurate.²⁴

Much of his work was set out in *St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895), which was very popular, and confirmed his voice as an expert on Church history. The public response must have compensated for the frustration of being unable to travel; and the substantial income which his books started to produce must have been welcome.

This turn in his own work was to determine the rest of his research career; from then on he lectured and published principally on the history of Christianity. But this period also saw another development: since he could not travel himself, he started to look for others to carry out the work. This required able young men, whom he began to identify and train. It also required funding. The Asia Minor Exploration Fund had been set up on Ramsay's appointment to Oxford, apparently largely based on Oxford contributions; after he left, it seems to have gradually disappeared. But at Aberdeen he found himself a trustee of the Robert Wilson Fund. Wilson had died in 1871, leaving money for a graduate in medicine (as he had been) for

²³ Most strikingly in Ramsay 1911.

²⁴ Ramsay 1915: 80.

exploring parts of Asia and Africa; the itineraries were set out in detail, and an allowance of 16 shillings a day was stipulated, since that reflected what Wilson himself had spent.²⁵

1889 saw the passage of the Universities (Scotland) Act, which gave the Commissioners powers to regulate foundations and endowments. In the same year Ramsay became a trustee; the minutes of the annual meetings are kept by the University of Aberdeen.²⁶ At the meeting of 1893 it was proposed to modify the conditions applying to the Fellowship; if, after another two years, there should still have been no successful application, the Fellowship would be deemed to have lapsed. The 1894 meeting approved the new regulations, allowing for a graduate of any age from any faculty, and for an appropriate sum of money, not limited to 16 shillings a day. The Fellowship was to be for a two-year period, renewable. In 1895 they set up an appointments committee; but it was only in 1896 that they authorized the appointment of a Fellow, setting aside £200 per annum as a necessary minimum. By July they had appointed the first Wilson Fellow, J. G. C. Anderson.²⁷ For the next fifty years a series of Wilson Fellows travelled in Mediterranean lands, many of them establishing very distinguished careers.²⁸

Anderson was the son of the minister of the parish of Edinkillie, north-west of Aberdeen. William Moir Calder (Fig. 11.2) was born in the same parish in 1881 to a family which, while farming for several generations in the parish, had also produced several academics. He graduated from Aberdeen University in 1903, and from Oxford in 1907. In 1908 he travelled to Asia Minor for the first time, with Ramsay.²⁹

When Ramsay resumed his own travels in 1901, archaeology in Asia Minor was changing; Osman Hamdi Bey had opened the new Archaeological Museum in Istanbul in 1891, and was welcoming to foreign excavators. But excavations required a different order of funding. Continental scholars received that from their governments; British and American excavations required financial support from universities or rich individuals, such as Gertrude Bell. Ramsay met her, apparently in 1906, and in 1907 they worked

²⁵ For the will see Hargreaves 1970: 384; cf. Anderson 1899. ²⁶ ASC MS 3390/2/1.

²⁷ Later to be Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford (1927 to 1936). For his obituary see *JRS* 42 (1952), 110–12.

²⁸ Wilson Fellows: J. G. C. Anderson 1896–8, 1898–1900; W. M. Ramsay 1901–3, 1904–5; John Garrow Duncan 1905–6, 1923–6; T. Callender 1906–8; W. M. Calder 1908 (withdrew); Margaret Ramsay 1909–11; W. M. Calder 1911–15; Margaret Hasluck 1921–3, 1926–8; Ninian B. Wright 1931–3; Alexander B. Birnie 1933–5; J. M. R. Cormack 1935–7; Arthur J. Beattie 1938–40; Ian William McPherson 1950–2; Alan Stirling Hall 1957–9, 1970–1. The Trust was wound up in 1986. I am grateful for this information to Andrew MacGregor, of Aberdeen Special Collections.

²⁹ Notebooks: ASC MS 3286/3/6/1 and 2.



Figure 11.2. William Moir Calder (1881–1960), Phrygia, 1925.

together, excavating and recording at Binbirkilisse.³⁰ Ramsay then went on to find American funding, with which he undertook his own excavation at Pisidian Antioch in 1911–13.³¹ There were other initiatives. An American expedition, headed by H. C. Butler, started excavating at Sardis in 1910; the funding came from the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis. Ramsay's old friend Sterrett was also appealing for funds: in 1912 he published *A Plea for Research in Asia Minor and Syria, Authorized by Men Whose High Achievements and Representative Character Make the Project a Call of Humanity at Large for Light in Regard to the Life of Man in the Cradle of Western Civilization*, with contributions from an impressive array of scholars; the wording of the title reflects an approach to archaeology and history very similar to that of Ramsay. Sterrett sent this to the newly established

³⁰ Bell and Ramsay 1909.

³¹ See the publication of material from these excavations, *L'Antioche de Pisidie*.

Rockefeller foundation, without success; he died in 1914, just as war broke out in Europe.

Calder travelled with Ramsay in 1908, 1909 (a trip cut short by revolution in Turkey)³² and 1910; from 1911 he worked with him at Antioch.³³ The attraction of Antioch, of course, was its role in the Acts of the Apostles. Calder shared Ramsay's interest in the archaeology and epigraphy of Christianity. One group among the collection of his squeezes now in Aberdeen is a collection of Christian materials from various locations;³⁴ and when, in 1913, he was appointed Professor of Greek at Manchester he added the function of Lecturer in Christian Epigraphy.

Calder's work with Ramsay had of course involved him in the exploration of the geography of Asia Minor; and this was a matter of increasing importance to the authorities after war broke out. In 1916 he was called up to work with the Admiralty Intelligence division; many of his maps, including ancient historical maps marked up with modern data, survive in the Aberdeen archive. This brought him to London, and into contact with diplomats; in 1916 he met W. H. Buckler (Fig. 11.3), an American diplomat and archaeologist, who had worked with Butler on the Sardis excavations, and was responsible for publishing the inscriptions.³⁵ Calder's war work also took him to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

The Peace Conference in Paris brought together not just diplomats, but a wide range of scholars and others who were interested in the historical record of the Near East. At the Peace Conference Calder met David Magie, the Roman historian, William Westermann, the papyrologist, and Isaiah Bowman, a geographer, all of whom had been members of the group of experts advising Woodrow Wilson on the Near East. Westermann wrote in his diary: 'Also worked with Capt. Calder upon the western boundary line of Armenia. These [Calder and Robert Vansittart] are both wonderfully fine chaps. Calder is one of the best and most intelligent and honest minded men I have met lately.'³⁶

In December 1922 the 24th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America was held at Yale. On 28 December the session was a joint meeting with the American Historical Association, chaired by the Hon. Robert Lansing, the former Secretary of State. The first paper was by

³² See Ramsay 1909 for a vivid account.

³³ Notebooks: 1911: ASC MS 3286/3/11/2, 3286/3/6/4, 3286/6/8, 3286/7/3, 3286/4/7/1. 1912: 3286/3/11/3. 1913: 3286/3/11/4.

³⁴ ASC MS 3286/10/44.

³⁵ Buckler memoir: 1916: 'lunch on Feb. 12 with Sir Wm. Ramsay and Calder'. On Buckler see Roueché 1993.

³⁶ Westermann diary, 23 March 1919.

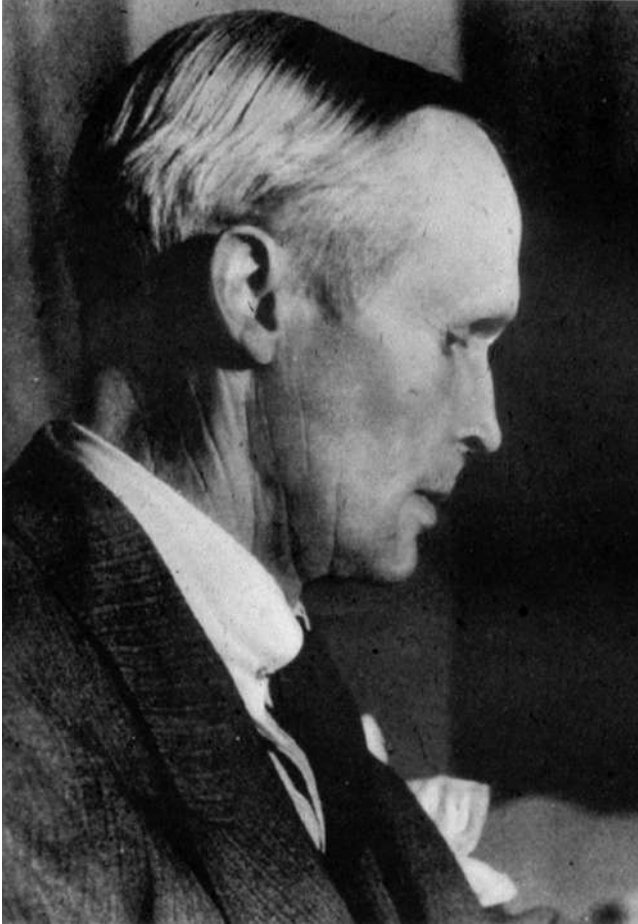


Figure 11.3. William Hepburn Buckler (1867–1952).

Buckler, on ‘The situation in the Near East from an Historical and Archaeological point of view’.

Mr Buckler is very hopeful that the new treaty now being arranged with Turkey will give ample opportunities for archaeological excavations and research, particularly in Anatolia. The Department of State, he said, is doing its best to promote such studies in Turkey, where, said the speaker, the Americans are popular. He urged that attention be concentrated upon Anatolia and its new capital, Angora, for three reasons: because the building of a great new capital affects ancient sites and building materials; because so little has ever been done in Anatolia in the way of excavation, and because Americans can afford the money needed to enrich the world with priceless historical and archaeological data.³⁷

³⁷ Newspaper cutting (loose, in Buckler memoir).

On 23 April 1923 Buckler gave a dinner in New York for Isaiah Bowman, William Westermann and David Magie (all colleagues from the Paris Peace Conference), together with two further friends who had excavated at Sardis. 'We six there decided to seek support for surveys in Anatolia and to act as a committee with that object.'³⁸

This was the birth of yet another privately funded initiative – the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor; they started to ask for funding. Buckler wrote: 'The largest of the individual subscriptions was that of \$6000 from John D. Rockefeller junior, sent to me in an ordinary unregistered letter, without any conditions attached or any receipt for me to sign.'³⁹

They called themselves at first 'The Rockefeller Epigraphic Survey of Asia Minor', but later the 'American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor'. The name of Rockefeller lived on, however, in the designation of one of the expedition's cameras, which were referred to in the notebooks as K(odak) and R(ockefeller).

Also in 1923 Buckler and Calder were working together on a volume for Buckler's friend and Calder's mentor, William Ramsay.⁴⁰ Calder, with his experience of Asia Minor, was the obvious person to undertake the first expedition, in 1924. Thereafter Calder, Buckler and their associates worked almost every year between 1924 and 1938, collecting materials – principally inscriptions – to be published in the series *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*: the publishers were the University Press at Manchester, where Calder was Professor of Greek.

The MAMA volumes are very dry and scholarly by comparison with the fluent narratives of Ramsay. Their aims were very specific. The Treaty of Sèvres had included provisions for the care and study of antiquities; but, as Buckler noted: 'In 1923 all the Sèvres plan for the care of antiquities was omitted from the Treaty of Lausanne, and this new situation added force to the arguments in favour of recording the monuments above ground before seeking those that lie safe below the surface. The idea of collecting photographs, squeezes and topographical information by small parties travelling through Asia Minor was taken up with enthusiasm.'⁴¹ The editors had learned from the example of Ramsay, who collected a great deal of material, but only published it sporadically; then as now, the aim of finding an appropriate commentary delayed the prompt publication of the underlying data. Their aim was to make available as full a record as possible of surviving

³⁸ Buckler memoir.

³⁹ Buckler memoir.

⁴⁰ Buckler and Calder 1923.

⁴¹ Buckler memoir.

monuments, in a changing environment; they therefore added very little commentary.

An aspect more important than we may now grasp is the use of photography. It is instructive to read the introduction to *MAMA I*. Calder had already travelled in the area with Ramsay (p. xi) and some of their copies were included. He comments:

As compared with the speed of the hand-copyist, ours was necessarily slow. Many ancient blocks are so placed that it takes time and trouble to heave them into a position where the camera or the squeeze brush can reach them. (p. x)

The challenge was going to be to get these photographs published, as publication costs rose steadily.

The concept was also of an international venture; is hard to overstate the importance, to all the participants, of attempting to heal the wounds inflicted by the World War. Volumes II and III, by German and Austrian scholars, were actually published in German. Buckler will have hoped for further internationalism when he recruited the young Frenchman Louis Robert to the team; *MAMA* funds enabled Robert's first journeys to Asia Minor, but the expected volumes never appeared.⁴² Calder and Buckler continued to correspond over many years with Josef Keil, who reported on the difficulties in dealing with an ageing Adolf Wilhelm; they themselves were experiencing similar problems with Ramsay, who continued to comment on their work from his retirement in Bournemouth (he died in 1939).⁴³ But the bulk of the work was undertaken by Calder and a series of younger scholars whom he recruited.

The expeditions and their publications were as follows:

- 1924: May to July: Calder, followed by Buckler and Christopher Cox
- 1925: Calder, R. K. Law, P. L. McDougall
- 1925: Cox and J. Cullen
- 1925: A. Wilhelm and J. Keil
- 1926: May–July: Calder, Buckler, Cox, A. Cameron, R. Pares
- 1928: Calder, A. P. Sinkler, A. MacLehose
- 1928: *MAMA I: Calder's material from 1925 and 1926*
- 1929: April–May: Calder, Buckler, W. K. C. Guthrie
- 1930: March–June: Calder, Buckler, Guthrie, John Paton of Grandhome and family

⁴² Robert, however, kept all his letters from Buckler (now in the Fonds Louis Robert).

⁴³ Unpublished correspondence.

- 1930: *MAMA II published by E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer, material from 1906 and 1907*
- 1931: *MAMA III published by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, material from 1914 and 1925*
- 1931: March 26–April 21, Cox and Cameron, with C. E. Stevens
- 1932: Calder, Guthrie, Süleyman Gökce
- 1933: L. Robert
- 1933: April: Calder, L. I. Higby, J. C. Watson
- 1933: May–June: Buckler and family, Calder
MAMA IV published by Buckler, Calder and Guthrie, with material from 1929 and 1930
- 1934: April: Calder, L. I. Higby, A. B. Birnie
- 1934: May: Calder
- 1934: Robert.
- 1935: proposed visit by Buckler and Robert cancelled
- 1936: Calder and Higby
- 1937: *MAMA V published by Cox and Cameron, with materials from 1931*
- 1939: *MAMA VI published, by Buckler and Calder, with materials from 1933, 1934*

Later expeditions

- 1951: Calder, Ian W. Macpherson
- 1954: Calder, Michael Ballance
- 1955: Ballance
- 1956: Ballance
- 1956: *MAMA VII published by Calder, with material from several expeditions*
- 1957: Ballance
- 1960: *Calder died*
- 1962: *MAMA VIII published, from the Calder papers, by Ballance and J. M. R. Cormack*
- 1988; 1992: *MAMA IX and X published, from Cox and Cameron papers, by B. Levick and S. Mitchell*
- 2012: *MAMA XI published, from Ballance papers, by P. Thonemann.*

The venture was fundamentally vulnerable. It was launched by a group of individuals, and never attached to an institution: there is some sad correspondence from the last years, among Westermann's papers at Columbia University, as the committee tried to work out how to renew itself. Buckler died in 1952; with the death of Calder in 1960 the team was dissolved, and

all the subsequent publications have involved heroic efforts to make sense of other people's records. When William Calder died, he had retired to his home parish of Edinkillie, and he bequeathed his papers to his old university of Aberdeen. There is correspondence showing that the university authorities were somewhat dismayed to receive eight boxes of papers and forty-five rolls of maps and squeezes.⁴⁴ The archives of the expeditions, however, contain rich materials not reflected in the volumes. There are unpublished photographs; there are careful notebooks, which include references to the photographs: from this it is possible to deduce the existence of other collections of photographs – for example, those taken by Guthrie – which are not in the collection. Other collections of materials are known; many more photographs and notebooks must have existed, and may still exist. The following have been located:

Calder materials, in the Special Collections of the University Library at Aberdeen:

1908,
 1910,
 1911,
 1912,
 1913: Notebooks (some photos, some squeezes)
 1924,
 1925,
 1926,
 1928,
 1929,
 1930: Diaries, notebooks, photographs, squeezes
 1932: Notebooks and photographs, squeezes
 1933: Notebook
 1951: Squeezes

In the Classics Faculty Library, Cambridge

1934: Squeezes

In the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford

1924,
 1925,
 1926,
 1931: Cox, Cameron, Cullen and Stephens materials

⁴⁴ All now catalogued as ASC MS 3286. I am grateful to David French, who first drew my attention to this material.

1951,
 1954,
 1955,
 1956,
 1957: Ballance materials

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris: Fonds Louis Robert

1933,
 1934: Robert materials

These travellers, unlike Ramsay, said little in their publications about themselves, or about the effort involved in their endeavour; they were very self-effacing. But their journeys were taking place in a dramatically transformed Turkey. Between 1924 and 1930 Calder kept diaries of his travels; these are written with the kind of detail that would be found in letters, which they presumably replaced. It is striking – and indicative of the atmosphere of the time – that in 1924 the first stop on his journey was to visit the new First World War cemeteries, and to locate his nephew's grave. After that, he builds a description of the aspects of an evolving Turkey: government offices split between Constantinople and Ankara; Istanbul full of Russian refugees: 'many of the beggars here are Russian'; Christians in the provinces pondering when and where to move out of Turkey.⁴⁵ He records, in one village, a discussion with the Kaimakam over the recent sacking of Arnold Toynbee from the Koraes Chair at King's College London.⁴⁶

These materials, and more, wait to be exploited, as resources for our understanding of an academic endeavour, but also as illuminating the modern history of Asia Minor. The photographic materials are also very rich; even if the vast majority are simply pictures of inscriptions or sculptured fragments, there is a good deal more to be extracted from them. The collections are full of excellent negatives; but the published volumes included diminishing numbers of photographs. It is therefore particularly in the spirit of this enterprise that the final volume, Peter Thonemann's *MAMA XI*, has been published online, with the fullest possible illustration; it includes images not just of inscriptions, but also of the villages in which they were found. That new approach to publication should help a wider public to appreciate the achievements of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor.

⁴⁵ Journal for 1924: ASC MS 3286/5/3.

⁴⁶ For the affair, see Clogg 1986.

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